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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

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# East Europe

JPRS-EER-88-090

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HUNGARY

**Ivanyi on Country vs. City Politics, Kadar Ouster**  
25000231 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian  
13 Jul 88 p 5

[Interview with Pal Ivanyi, Politburo member, by Laszlo Szabo: "The Freedom of the Councils"]

[Text] The president of the Capital City Council was placed in the forefront of interest by events of the Budapest Party movement during the recent past. He was elected a member of the Political Committee at the national conference of the MSZMP and a few weeks later, when the post of first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee became vacant, many Party Committee members wanted to elect him to this position. In the many rounds of voting, he received many votes but fewer than the required number. Our talk with Pal Ivanyi, member of the Political Committee of the MSZMP, president of the Capital City Council, understandably originated here.

[Question] It happened for the first time in the Hungarian Party movement that two people entered "the ring" for such a high office. Is this political courage?

[Answer] I do not consider it so. It is much more the acceptance of a hitherto not practiced, but now declared democratic practice which—let us confess—we are still afraid of. I am not revealing a secret, I, too, had apprehensions. This double candidacy is an interesting, exciting, somewhat anxiety producing thing, at least to those who "land in it." It does not have great traditions in the party. There were some who objected that it is not a fortunate thing to run two candidates for such an important position because it divides the party committee. Others were troubled by how it would reflect on politics if I, a member of the Political Committee, did not receive a majority. (Laughing: did they see ahead?) Much was going on inside me too, the preliminaries did wear me out a little. But now, after the fact, I am glad that I participated.

[Question] You are an aeronautical engineer, you were also doing research. How does an aeronautical engineer-scientist become a politician?

[Answer] The career of most people is not of a single course, I think. When, in 1957, I got to Sopron to high school, the youth movement was starting to be set up. The KISZ was being organized. I was among the the founding members of the school KISZ. I started to get acquainted with politics there. This followed me through the university and also through the ten years I spent in the car factory. After that I had to decide whether I wanted a career as a professional politician: I was invited to become the party secretary at Malev [Hungarian Air Transport Enterprise]. Precisely at the time when the management of the enterprise was changed to put an end to the earlier, sad "catastrophic period." I accepted.

[Question] According to some, whoever rules the capital city rules the country.

[Answer] I consider this an overstatement. Even though Budapest plays a decisive role in the life of the country. More than one-fifth of the population lives here. Budapest is not only an administrative but also a cultural, scientific and industrial center. On the other hand, it was indicated precisely by the events of the past period that the role of the megyes [counties] in our political, social and economic life has increased, that they are partners of the same rank with the capital.

[Question] Are you thinking of the party conference where the "country" allegedly played an important role in the earth shattering personnel changes?

[Answer] Since the decisive majority of the delegates was not from the capital, in this respect I am also thinking of it. And of other things. This is quite palpable in Parliament, in governmental work. Well prepared people, acquainted with the tasks, are working in the megyes. They are true partners of the political leadership, the government and, when necessary, they are partners in debate. But a specific antagonism toward the capital is still in existence. I do not believe that it is a fortunate political manifestation to pit the capital against the country. Budapest belongs not only to its inhabitants but to the entire country. I believe—because it has enormous cultural values and traditions—it does not even belong to the Hungarians alone but is part of the universal human culture. To pit the capital against the country—of course, such tendencies also exist in the capital!—can be seemingly advantageous in the momentary formulation of certain interests but it is unsuitable for the effective resolution of matters. The problems with large cities are, by the way, not peculiar to Hungary!

[Question] It is often said of Budapest that it is an administrative hydrocephalus. Is that true? And if you consider it true, would you dare to say it out loud that the 22 districts are not good this way?

[Answer] This does not require political courage because this had already been declared earlier by many people: it is not too good the way it is. The population of Budapest matches that of 4 to 5 megyes and there is much administrative distortion. The system of suburbs may probably have had many advantages but these are fewer and fewer by now.

[Question] It was in an different world when the suburbs became capital districts, one side of a given street becoming one, the other side another district.

[Answer] May things must be rethought. The conditions of actual council management must be stabilized, radical changes must be made in the relationship between popular representation and the machinery in favor of popular representation, and services must become prominent among the administrative functions. There already are excellent such attempts, for example in the 20th District.

[Question] Your words appear to favor the populace. Although council presidents prefer to talk about their own difficulties, the impossibility of satisfying demands.

[Answer] I consider it impossible with respect to the future that a council president would not favor the population.

[Question] It is said that bureaucracy was never greater than today.

[Answer] Which one? The organization of the work process? In my opinion, every organization which fulfills administrative functions is—by its nature—bureaucratic. We use the word bureaucracy only in the pejorative sense although bureaucracy is also a type of activity which can be done well or badly. And since, over several decades, the opinion evolved that public administration in our country is indeed a shuffling of documents, it does get its "bureaucratic" label. Of course, the shuffling of documents continues.

[Question] Is not the number of administrative, that is, state workers too high? And is that not the reason for the very expensive state?

[Answer] It is expensive not because there are too many of us. By the way, in my opinion, the number of workers in the Budapest councils is not high. It is another question whether we could solve our tasks with fewer people. I am certain that it could be done. But this decision must be started with an assessment of the tasks and not declaring on the face of it that we should lower the numbers by such and such amount. Look at Vienna, Munich, Prague, how many people work in city administration. Compared with them, our capital machinery of 830 people is a modest workforce. I am telling you, the basic trouble is not with the scale but with the organization and reasonableness of the work.

[Question] In your view, why is this organization not sufficiently effective?

[Answer] There are many reasons. Among others, when this council organization was formed, it followed the same concept that prevailed in economic management. In other words, it was good administrative structure if matters could be kept in hand as centrally as possible. In the economy, the significant changes were started after 1968, but the same practice was started only later in state administration. Although only here and there with decisive force. But they talked in vain at the governmental level about the importance of council independence, if at the same time they failed to provide the foundation for this independence, primarily monetary conditions, and opportunities for local management. However, the majority of our laws are still formulated to include the earlier goals of central management of the branches. And as long as the legal decrees outright prescribe for us to service this or that function, we cannot eliminate work spheres and dispense with forms of activity.

[Question] In other words, first it must be demonstrated among the spheres of activity what is superfluous, but a transformation of the legal foundations is also no less important.

[Answer] Yes, first it must be thoroughly examined what the fixed activities of the 830 people of the Capital City Council are and why they are doing them. This analysis has been started. A single example suffices to explain why it is necessary to do this first. We have a co-worker here whose job—among other things—is to issue a special permit for fishing competitions because, at these competitions, a provision is made to reduce prescribed limitations in length. Even today, a large number of superfluous requirements must be satisfied. On the other hand, it is a fact that in vain do we determine the superfluousness of a whole army of things if the central state administration—bringing new and newer regulations—does not yield.

[Question] What is there to guarantee that the world of desk jobs would not start to expand again?

[Answer] That what you had referred to before as favoring the populace. In other words, I see the structural insurance in a complete change of the relationship between the council and machinery, in strengthening the character of popular representation. This is also best suited to the reform of the political institutional system. As in the party, whose machinery must be subservient to the public bodies, the same should be put into effect in the council system: the body is the "head" and the office is the "subordinate."

[Question] I know that, during the past twenty years, the problem of the overly segmented public administration of Budapest was taken off the agenda almost always because of the existentialist consequences. Do you dare to touch it?

[Answer] As many times as a try at it was made, opinions varied not only with respect to the timeliness of the problem but also its necessity. Great storms were always raised by the debates. In part, because the districts undoubtedly have traditions. Someone living in Ujpest will always call it that and will never call his section the 4th District. The same is true from people in Kispest and Csepel. These are traditions which must be honored.

[Question] What is the solution if we want to change the strongly segmented public administration system?

[Answer] We are faced with two options. By cutting through the districts with one stroke we are cutting into traditions, people's feelings, and their local patriotism. Even though these are the inner driving force of self-organization. In addition to the emotional ties, there are also ties derived from interest. A reorganization of the public administration is not simple from a financial

aspect either. Its simplest consequence is an exchange of street signs which would cost about 350 million forints today. And this is only a single item.

[Question] What road is to be followed then?

[Answer] In my opinion, the one that has been followed by the capital for a long time. The cooperation among the districts must be stressed, developed, and increasingly more interdistrict organizations must be established. For instance, the health care supply of Budapest already consists of six integrated units and three or four districts belong to each of them. Integration was also started at the enterprises which handle real property. I think that, in the long-term, these will lead to the evolution of a different public administrative structure—on the basis of economic, supply and other interests. The process cannot be pushed or urged because there are also contrary effects. For example, the transactions of the councils must get increasingly closer to the population and this is not implicitly brought about by the larger administrative units.

[Question] Even though getting closer to the population also means that the tendency toward self-organization is enhanced.

[Answer] I think it is so. We know, don't we, how much easier it is in a small settlement to formulate goals which everyone who lives there can endorse. In districts with 100 to 150 thousand people—at least a middle-sized town by itself!—this is much more difficult. Therefore, it must also be determined to what extent the size can be balanced by emotional ties and traditions. Consequently, district integration is hardly a task for tomorrow, much rather for the day after tomorrow.

[Question] In addition to the council, this must be pondered—in my opinion—also by the Budapest Party Committee. Let us talk about the requirement of the more up-to-date party management. In particular, that, in the future, the party is not allowed to guide the state organization in a direct manner but only through political means.

[Answer] I have earlier experience in this respect because I had worked for a few years at the economic policy department of the Budapest Party Committee which was responsible for the control and guidance, by the party, of a significant part of the council activities. And I also have experience from the most recent times. In the matter of independence, I must refer to the person of the general secretary/prime minister who used to be first secretary in Budapest. The currently formulated principle has been practiced by the Budapest Party Council for a few years, namely, that it does not make decisions which fall within the scope of authority of the council. On the other hand, it has been dealing with problems which affect the capital as a whole such as city development or problems which can be viewed as strategic with regard to city operations. Let us not forget that the

Budapest Party Committee integrates the opinion of more than 200 thousand party members of the capital which can provide enormous help for preparing our decisions. Or, for example, there is the preparation of the plan. For this year's plan, principles were adopted by the Budapest Party Committee—for example, that under our strained circumstances, the functioning of the capital must be insured even to the detriment of development. But the internal distribution of this "operation," how money should be divided, say between health care and bridge maintenance, that is decided by the Capital City Council, with full responsibility for it.

[Question] This was not always so.

[Answer] Indeed not. And, with respect to party control, I consider it absolutely natural that the party committee—also by way of control—should enforce its decisions.

[Question] How much money is now available to the council president?

[Answer] The Capital City Council has 56 billion forints available. This is our budget for this year.

[Question] That is less than last year!

[Answer] Its true value is less.

[Question] How long can this last?

[Answer] For a few years we certainly will have to manage with a smaller purse, the entire country has been put on a diet. Its causes we know precisely. It is no joy, but a fact. We must live with it. But we must live with it in such a way that, if possible—as a result of our better management—the situation not deteriorate any further. Every activity must be carefully weighed, a clear list of priorities must be prepared, and financial possibilities and intellectual resources must be more effectively utilized.

[Question] From the beginning of January, my own personal tax is also going to the council. Will I be able to get a full accounting on how this money is managed by the capital; can I speak up if I don't agree with something?

[Answer] I promise, that there will be much greater publicity. But not because a personal income tax has been introduced and is channelled to the councils but basically because I acknowledge that the inhabitants of the city must know precisely what this money, ultimately a large amount, is spent on. Only in the first half of next year can we make an accounting of the personal income tax. According to our estimates, the city will receive about 13 billion forints which is nearly one-fourth of our total budget. I would add that this increase in income

will be matched by an equal reduction in state support. Thus, there is no mention of increased income, it is simply the beginning of a restructuring of the sources.

[Question] Will there not be a factor added to this structure which enhances the interests of the council to increase local incomes?

[Answer] Yes, there already is. The councils already have an interest in increasing their planned intake of revenue and for increasing this. Thus, for example, if we do not attain the planned intake, the budget will not make up for the loss. On the other hand, if we manage well, that is, we obtain additional funds through various undertakings, it will increase our options because they will not be taken from us by the government. Money left over at the end of the year will also be at our disposal in contrast to an earlier period when these were taken away in the budget. The third stimulating factor is the discontinuation of management by categories. The organization can freely decide how much to spend on development, how much on operations, how much on maintenance. This has greatly increased the freedom of council management but also its responsibility. However, in reasonableness and thrift—which would be at least equally important—we are not yet really strong. Because every organization whose philosophy is aimed at spending money instead of earning it or producing it, finds it difficult to change to a different philosophy. But it can already be felt that the world is changing. Especially at the district councils. They discovered that they can manage, be enterprising; moreover, they can even apply foreign working capital to the realization of their ideas.

[Question] Many patterns assumed to be classical, crumble. Do you advocate that the districts—on their own—should turn to banks and even foreign capital, and that every district should become an individual little fiefdom?

[Answer] This is not the case. Undoubtedly there are opinions that such a degree of independence at the council level discharging state functions can eventually disrupt "order" since it indeed contradicts the classical pattern. But if we start with the fact that the primary task of the district councils—together with the Capital City Council—is to serve the population, and that even official activities must—increasingly—acquire a service character, then I hardly believe that enterprise, the expansion of possibilities, the acquisitions would endanger order. With respect to the set patterns, they must be re-cut or left behind if they are outdated, useless or even harmful. I profess that the council must fulfill functions which serve society. And the concept of service is not distant from delivery, of independence from individual activity, of management from acquisitions. And if I proceed with this train of thought, without fail I must draw the conclusion that every council must be given freedom of movement which is under the direct control of the voters.

## POLAND

### Editorial Board Views Past Activity, Anticrisis Pact

26000016a Warsaw KONFRONTACJE in Polish  
No 4, Apr 88 p 2

[Editorial signed by Marek Goliewski for the editorial board: "How and Why?"]

[Text] Four issues of KONFRONTACJE have appeared. The time has come for a short summary and some reflections.

Perhaps first the less important but spectacular questions. Reports about successive issues, with quotations from many articles and authors, are published by nearly all of the press agencies of the world (Reuters, UPI, Prensa Latina) and by all of the Polish language broadcasting services from the Voice of America and the BBC to Radio Free Europe. The government press spokesman is asked questions from KONFRONTACJE by foreign correspondents. The embassies of the majority of the countries have become subscribers to the magazine: from the Soviet and English to the Chinese and American. The Polish press from TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY and ODRODZENIE to KIERUNKI and POLITYKA have accepted KONFRONTACJE rather positively. In general, our interlocutors have formed positive judgments of the magazine, including the authorities and the various opposition groups. Each day we receive friendly, at times enthusiastic, letters from readers (we will attempt to print the critical ones). Each day, the telephone rings, and we answer questions about the next issue. We are always "reviewed" in the "Panorama of the Day" and on the Third Program of Polish Radio. Studies of distribution show that the magazine sells out, and there are no so-called returns.

Now the rumors. Obviously, they appeared immediately. The political cafes sought those who were "standing" behind the magazine. Rakowski, Baryla, Janiszewski were mentioned. It was said that the magazine is the Central Committee's idea of a way to "lance" the opposition. In another version, it is the idea of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for penetrating the illegal structures; in still another version, it is the idea of the opposition to penetrate the authorities' apparatus through PRON. Rarely have we encountered the view that KONFRONTACJE and "such" freedom of expression is the result of the stubborn attitude of the people whose names appear in the masthead (and their friends), of the democratic actions of the authorities, of more lenient opposition by the opposition and an exploitation (read: application) of the provisions of the law. And this is what it is. This "mysticism" arouses some concern, especially given the opinion that Poles after August [1980] and martial law judge the situation coolly.

As we announced in the first issue, we want to be a forum for the expression of various types of political views. We decided that confronting positions (even very sharply) will make it easier to grasp the "common" which should be nurtured and the "different" which should be buried. In the course of our work so far we have noticed, sometimes with amazement, how the systems of values of people who occupy completely different positions in society (according to public opinion and in reality) are frequently identical. Is this a continuation of the famous Polish blind passion? The composition of successive issues of the magazine has not proceeded without sparks of mistrust, criticism of the methods we have chosen, charges of one-sidedness, without us stumbling or making false moves. At times it has been very difficult, but we have decided that it was worth going on. Letters, telephone calls, and especially visits to the editorial offices by young people, have convinced us that we are becoming for our main addressees—young Poles—one of the important points of orientation, that we are increasing their interest in public affairs. We have no illusions; the road ahead is long. But we have provided a little more hope for the "new...."

The greatest political event of the issues of the magazine published so far has been the proposal to form an Anticrisis Pact proposed by Bronislaw Geremek, the former advisor to the National Negotiating Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity. We asked the "government side" to comment on it. Ludwik Krasucki responded. The divergences, as regards initial conditions and the Pact itself, were great. However, "the door was not slammed shut." And this is especially important, particularly for the portion of the younger generation which is closely observing the beginning of a genuine dialogue and treats it as a peculiar road sign for its further actions, or "whether to be or not to be" (in Poland). Ryszard Wojna opened the door a little more; then Alfred Miodowicz and Henryk Samsonowicz. We know that other interlocutors of ours will open it wider.

But voices have also appeared, from the opinion-forming and honored groups, that it is impossible, that there is no need for concluding such a Pact (whether in the form proposed in these pages or in another form or under a different name). We must admit that the arguments given are frequently rational. They find support in the past and in the present, in certain words and facts. It is difficult not to understand the bitterness of the representatives of the authorities, for example, of the participants of the meeting with the National Negotiating Commission of NSZZ Solidarity of 6 August 1981 and their resulting objections to renewed "organization." It is difficult not to recognize the sense of the fears that the formation, for example, of a new union organization, given the country's difficult economic situation, could cause an avalanche of mutual declarations of justified, surely, demands and introduce political disarray and destroy even the recently formed democratic tissues. That is difficult—because it can! The fears then are justified. In many cases they must be accepted. And to

try to understand these "no" options. However—given the rightness of this contestation—rejection of the idea, of talks, of this type of Pact, precisely in the country's difficult situation, is, especially for the generation of 20- and 30-year olds, unacceptable. Not because they do not remember August and those names, but because the lack of talks and agreement among the people affecting that generation (simplified: between the people in the government and in the opposition) leads to a simple lack of understanding for these people. This eliminates any hope and any prospects for the future which the young people are clamoring for. And especially this generation must have hope and prospects in order "to be." This "to be" is, among other things, the support and the strength of the authorities who want to carry out reforms in such frozen structures. We mention strength because only a strong, decisive set of authorities—we should have no illusions—can carry out the reform and in cases of breaking down particular interests, even an absolute set. Such authorities should be supported, because that is in the interest of each of us.

Squaring the wheel? A classic stalemate? Probably not.

We should agree that the current political strategy—gaining support and democratizing the social system in tandem—is generally correct. But the political category of time is increasingly depreciating this policy. Today in order to gain support we must take the risk of democratization on a greater scale than yesterday. This is the systemic interdependence of phenomena in Poland, whether someone likes it or not.

Democratization in the form of talks and a pact do not seem to go beyond the boundaries of political common sense....

The problem, however, does not simply concern a pact. It concerns perhaps to an even greater degree a more decisive facing of the concrete situations and aggressive questions posed by workers and academics. What new form of a political system based a new economic reform? How to separate politics from economics? What new common values for Poles? What relations of ownership? What are the places for the Church? The opposition? And what kind of opposition? What type of coalition system of exercising authority? What type of pluralism? And when?

What opportunities are there? Odds? They are not so slight as many are inclined to believe, as many of the comments published in KONFRONTACJE indicate. The sense of our work and our efforts remains unchanged. It is the broadest possible dialogue leading to a new social contract.

And can there be other delays and strange "postponements"? Well, we are prepared to accept this price, for something more is at stake than just a place to work and goods to sell.

**Catholic Columnist on Consultative Council  
Limits, TU Pluralism, Soviet Ties**  
26000049 Warsaw KONFRONTACJE in Polish  
No 7/8 Jul-Aug 88 pp 6-7

[Interview with Prof Stanislaw Stomma, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY columnist, by Marek Goliszewski]

[Text]

[Question] Professor, sir, how would you define the present situation in Poland?

[Answer] I would say that it abounds in frustrations but is lively in hope of progress in our social, political, and economic life.

[Question] Can this hope be justified?

[Answer] The objective course of history appears to indicate so.

[Question] In this country there exist varied political divisions. In your opinion, what are the chances for an agreement between the authorities and the opposition?

[Answer] I would first of all narrow the concept of the "authorities." In speaking of an agreement you surely mean the result of some talks, decisions, recommendations. But this term has to be linked to a narrower group within Mr Jaruzelski's ruling team. The concept of the "opposition" also has to be narrowed. When speaking of the opposition in general I mean a large politically aware segment of the nation, whereas in this case, too, the term has to be confined to several dozen representatives of the independent groupings who are active in this kind of politics. When the concepts are thus narrowed, a compromise, since an agreement is being mentioned, appears possible.

[Question] What conditions must be met for this to happen?

[Answer] In a sense, transcending the current boundaries of pluralism is needed. So far the authorities have not taken any steps acceptable to the opposition.

[Question] But what about the Consultative Council under the Chairman of the Council of State?

[Answer] This is certainly a needed body, but it was appointed unilaterally, meaning that people were invited to belong to that Council rather than delegated by the society. Its membership was not elected besides. Moreover, the Council is a purely advisory body, whereas, I emphasize, the issue now is to include the opposition in actual decisionmaking on national issues. Not necessarily on crucial issues, but on issues of sufficient importance such that influencing them would genuinely affect the life of the society. A body in which the opposition is to participate would thus have to consist of members

who are either delegated by the society or elected, and it should be endowed with certain powers of an executive nature. Otherwise the opposition would of a certainty not cooperate.

[Question] And specifically?

[Answer] Well, General Jaruzelski appointed the Consultative Council. Thus, once its term of office expires, its new membership, as nominated by various constituencies, could be granted greater powers and prerogatives, e.g., the right to postpone decrees. Such a move could be significant. It would be close to the concept of an upper chamber, a senate. Allowance could be made for broadening Sejm representation with a substantial number of deputies representing constituencies heretofore ignored in official political structures.

[Question] Who should launch these initiatives?

[Answer] The authorities, surely. But the opposition also.

[Question] The representatives of the opposition pose trade-union pluralism as a condition for the anticrisis pact. But given the country's difficult situation and the peril of industrial anarchy and social ferment entailed by competition for "souls" among several trade unions, could not this condition be postponed until the market situation stabilizes at least relatively?

[Answer] The opposition is right. Poles are unusually sensitive to this issue. Rightly or wrongly, they feel that one trade union is too little. Mr Czyrek [Foreign Minister] once said that to Marxists, too, one trade union is not a dogma, that two or three different trade unions may exist. So let them [the party] act accordingly. Young people are repudiating old schemas, old cadres. They want something new, something of their own. And they should be enabled to do so. New organizations should be born, at the grassroots level, gradually.

[Question] But does not this present a threat of chaos?

[Answer] Is it really so terrible? What is much worse is the subsurface growth of tensions owing to the lack of possibility of making a choice of one's own, lack of action in structures that are not established "from the top," but action taken in consonance with [the society's] own aspirations. Unless this is made possible, the consequences of those dammed-up energies will be much worse to the economy. And not only to the economy.

[Question] Professor, sir, often when talking about politics you use the term "the wisdom of the stage." What does having such wisdom mean?

[Answer] It means understanding the situation at this stage, understanding the objective domestic economic and political conditions as well as international conditions and, this being very important, understanding the psychological domestic factors which account for the political reality in Poland. This reduces to understanding the handicaps—the resentments, disappointments, etc.—of the opposition and understanding the handicaps of the government, namely, its fears, international ties, and treaties of alliance, and on this basis drawing suitable conclusions. Unless the intentions and possibilities of the partner are clearly understood, his actions cannot be predicted. This resembles a chess game: the partner's moves have to be foreseen. In this country this has been neglected. Proof: how people had not understood the situation before 13 December [1981, martial law declared]. Had the position of the ruling side been analyzed, the possibility of such a coup could have been foreseen. But people did not try to think it out. Hence, the wisdom of time, the wisdom of the stage, means a thorough analysis ensuing from the understanding of objective political, economic, and social conditions as well as the understanding of psychological factors. An important proviso: the authorities frequently disregard the psychological factor, excluding it from the categories of objective conditions. This may cost Poles very dearly by nullifying our calculations, plans, and hopes. Margrave Wielopolski, an eminent politician, made the same mistake when he took into consideration many factors except the psychological state of the Polish nation. That was his mistake.

[Question] Professor, sir, "the wisdom of the stage" also means analysis of international relations, especially of what we are observing in the Soviet Union.

[Answer] Yes, Polish-Soviet relations are an unusually important factor. At the Dziekania Club of Political Thought, which I have the honor to direct, they are very close to our heart. I must say that their present condition leaves much to be desired—of course, in the unofficial plane. I am thinking of the society's reactions. Here much remains to be done. In February 1957, in my inaugural Sejm speech on behalf of the Caucus of "Znak" [Catholic] Deputies, I emphasized the natural need for cooperation between Poland and the USSR, upon basing the alliance of the two countries on a genuine community of interests, a community so far obscured so that as a result the mood of the Polish society is inconsonant with objectively considered Polish *raison d'état*. The Polish nation should "ratify" the Polish-Soviet treaty concluded by the government, which of course is fulfilling this treaty. For that "ratification" to be genuine and complete, the society must be convinced that it can accept it with a clean conscience. At present the chances for the psychological approbation of that treaty are great. A significant step forward has been taken. I refer to Gorbachev's declaration in favor of "removing blank spots" [from history]. This "removal" is slow but clearly progressing. The recent CPSU Conference also is eliciting great hopes. It discussed many

things with complete openness. Poland's objective interests condemn [as published] us—Poland and the USSR—to an alliance or, as Kisiel once said, to a marriage based on rational interests. Perhaps some day we shall attain a marriage based on love, but for the time being let it be a really good marriage based on rational interests. According to us non-Marxists, people linked to the church, the basis of such alliance should be the rational rather than ideological consideration of Poland as a country lying within the sphere of interests of the Soviet Union, which is the Great Power in Central Europe. We Poles should bend in the direction of considering Soviet interests in terms of the Polish *raison d'état*. But it is important that the other side, too, accept our interests. Ancient grievances are not the point. The source of evil rumors and bitterness is economic relations, about which we know little. Here openness and a just reciprocity are needed.

[Question] You mentioned "Dziekania." The activities of this Club of Political Thought are attracting growing attention.

[Answer] In "Dziekania" we cultivate intellectual ferment, discussion, whose directions are naturally determined in part by the particular sympathies of the constituencies belonging to that club. These constituencies include: Polish political scientists headed by Aleksander Hall and Tomasz Wolek; economists, headed by Mr Dzielski; and a third group deriving from the PAX [Catholic association] and headed by Przemyslaw Hniedziewicz, Slawomir Siwek, and Andrzej Kostarczyk. Aleksander Hall's group [censored material] (Decree of 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 6, DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 99, No 20, 1981; revised in DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 204, No 44, 1983). It draws largely on the political school of Roman Dmowski but without accepting nationalism or, God forbid, anti-Semitism. "Dziekania" attempts to overcome apathy among young people, interest them in problems of governance, and prompt them to enter upon domains in which the state will let itself be "objectivized." This is a characteristic definition of "Dziekania" itself, for the point is to make the broadest possible domains of public life amenable to becoming "objectivized," that is, to becoming excluded from political or, too, economic monopoly and pressures.

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#### Human Rights Conference, Need for International Safeguards

26000019 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 36, 4 Sep 88 pp 1-2

[Article by Jerzy Turowicz: "Human Rights"]

[Text] [The following is] the text of a report given at the inauguration of the International Conference on Human Rights, which was held in Krakow between 25 and 28 August 1988. The conference was organized on the 40th

anniversary of adopting the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Nobel Peace Prize laureate Lech Wałęsa became the honorary sponsor of the conference. The conviction that a joint struggle is needed for human rights, irrespective of divisions and borders, was the keynote theme for the proceedings held at the Church of St. Maksymilian Kolbe in Mistrzejowice. The conference attracted numerous representatives of groups and organizations involved in human rights issues, as well as trade union functionaries and participants in the democratic opposition from our country and from abroad. [Censored material] (Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and performances, article 2, paragraph 3 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended: 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)). The conference should be considered a weighty and, in a sense, decisive event, an event of great political importance. In this context, the presence of representatives of the Ministry of Justice of the PRL [Polish Peoples Republic], who followed the proceedings until the very end, should also be noted.

The issue of human rights is the focal problem of our time. Hence the significance of this international conference organized by independent social movements, held for the first time in a country belonging to the socialist bloc. I am honored to be entrusted with making the presentation opening our proceedings. However, I am not a lawyer, or even a scientist, but just a journalist, a columnist. Besides, tens of thousands of books and treatises have been written about human rights, and, basically, everything has been said that there is to say. Therefore, it would be ridiculous and arrogant to try saying something new and original on this subject. So, I will restrict myself to recalling things which are known, attempting to put these problems in perspective and touching on several specific issues, without aspiring to scientific precision, and operating in common sense categories.

Human rights are expressed in the categories of postulates. These are not the laws which rule the person, or the laws by which the person lives, but rights to which he is entitled, which should be observed, respected and defended. Defended from what? From other people, from institutions created by man, such as the state and the law, from the practices of the authorities, from lawlessness.

However, what is the foundation of human rights, what is their source? Here we must resort to philosophy, and, maybe, theology, in order to determine the place of man in the world and in history. Various philosophies (though not all) agree that man, endowed with free will and intelligence, is the highest value in what is called the worldly order. Both religion and lay philosophies maintain that man, the only living creature endowed with will and consciousness, is the crown of creation. He is the master of nature and the creator of culture.

(A digression here—when at present the immeasurably important ecological movements defend nature from man himself, let us remember that they defend nature not for its own sake, but for man, because he needs an uncontaminated natural environment).

The conviction of human dignity follows from this place of man in the world and in history. Not only religion, but practically all great documents formulating human rights—the American Declaration of Independence, the French Declaration of Human Rights, the International Pacts on Political and Economic Rights—refer to the inherent, naturally derived dignity of man.

Thus, the rights of man derive from his nature; they originate in what is called natural law, the unwritten law which stands above the positive law laid down by man. By the effort of his intellect, man gradually learns and formulates this natural law. In recent years, a discussion among specialists on the natural law, certainly not yet completed, has sprung up. The extreme views altogether denied the existence of natural law, calling into question the existence of immutable human nature. This is not the place to discuss this problem extensively. However, perhaps common sense itself brings us to the conclusion that, possible differences as to the content of this notion and even its complete cognizability notwithstanding, it is a fact that there is human nature, common for all people, and immutable in its essence. Basic human rights derive from this nature: right to life, to freedom, to searching for truth, to the development of his personality. Man endowed with will and intelligence is a person who has the right to make his own determinations; he is the active subject, he should be able to shape his own destiny.

This is by no means individualism, which would follow from recognizing human freedom to be unlimited. Human rights are the rights of every person, the rights of all people. Hence the need to respect the rights of another person, by reconciling interests and goals, using compromises, the need to organize collective life, establish rules of coexistence, rules of custom, legal rules, that is, institutional structures, to organize the state.

Therefore, the need and necessity of creating the state, of establishing the authorities and rights, follows from human nature. Their goal is to ensure the striving for the common good of the entire society, organized in the state. This common good also embraces the good of individual persons. Therefore, the state, the forms of socio-political systems, are created by man, for man and should serve man. It happens that the state, i.e. the people wielding power, no longer serve; their actions do not promote the common good, or even run counter to what the common good is. Under such circumstances, man has a right, based on natural law and should have an institutionally guaranteed opportunity to rectify the situation, i.e. to influence the manner of exercising power, the mechanism of power, and even the opportunity to modify or change the form of the [political] system.

After all, man can never be subordinated to the state completely. In the interest of the community and the common good, the state may restrict the liberties of an individual; it can demand sacrifices. However, man as an individual is transcendental with regard to the entire earthly reality, and, in particular, with regard to the state and the established laws. This means that there are certain basic rights of man resulting from his nature, which are inviolable and inalienable. These are such rights as the freedom of conscience, religious freedom, freedom of thought, speech and information, freedom of association, and opportunity for personal development. If the state restricts these basic rights substantially or denies them, an unavoidable conflict between the individual and the state arises, the conflict between Antigone and Creon. The awareness of natural law and human rights, and the need to defend them and to create legal instruments for such defense, has been growing gradually since the time of Antigone, whom Jacques Maritain called "the perpetual heroine of natural law," and maybe longer yet. We can trace the growth of such awareness throughout human history. It is easier yet to point out the history of pertinent legal documents, beginning with the British Magna Carta in 1215, Habeas Corpus and the Bill of Rights in the same country in the 17th century, and our, Polish "Neminem Captivabimus," followed by the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, the French Declaration of Human Rights in 1789, during the French revolution, and, finally, in our time, the Atlantic Charter in 1941, the UN Charter in 1945, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the International Pacts on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 1966, and, in addition, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and regional human rights declarations in Europe, America and Africa, not to mention an array of conventions of a special nature.

The stance of the Catholic Church on human rights is not the subject of this conference. Ten years ago, a separate, more private session in Warsaw was devoted to this issue. However, since the present conference is being held in a country where Catholics account for 90 percent of society, and the author of these words is himself a representative of the Catholic intellectuals, I may be allowed a digression on this topic here.

The Holy Bible makes explicit references to the place of man in the world, his dignity and his rights in both the Old and the New Testaments. We may say that the religious justification of the high dignity of man is more powerful than all lay justifications, because the Holy Bible says that man has been created in God's image and after his likeness, and the incarnation of Christ, or the fact that God became man, points up the aspect and potential of humanity incomprehensible for lay justifications. Finally, the relationship between man and God, the calling of man determine in an inherent manner his transcendence of the human reality and all its institutional structures.

All of this is by no means to say that the awareness of this was apparent in the Catholic Church, and that in the course of history the church has always respected human rights. We know that at times the opposite happened, we also know about the negative attitude of the church to free-thinking, rationalist (and, in general, anticlerical) views in the 18th and 19th centuries. However, this is not the place to discuss these historical issues. For our purposes, it would suffice to state that a marked change has occurred in the stance, of the church in our era, and that the Catholic Church (as well as other Christian churches) is now in the forefront of the struggle for human rights. Let us recall several important facts. Before the last war, Pope Pius XI came out forcefully in defense of religious freedom and human rights, against totalitarian political systems, in three encyclicals, "Non abbiamo bisogno" ["On Catholic Action in Italy"], "Mit brennender Sorge" ["To the Bishops of Germany, on the Church and the German Reich"] and "Divini redemptoris" ["On Atheistic Communism"]. After the war, John XXIII laid out a complete catalog of human rights—civil, political and economic—in line with what international documents on this subject say, in two encyclicals—"Mater et Magistra" ["On Christianity and Social Progress"] (1961) and, especially, "Pacem in Terris" ["On Establishing Universal Peace"] (1963). The Second Vatican Council, begun under the same pontificate, outlined the foundations of the Catholic concept of man, his dignity and his rights in the constitution "Gaudium et spes"—a constitution on the church in the contemporary world. In the encyclical "Populorum progressio" ["On the Development of Peoples"] (1967), Paul VI advanced a far-reaching program of the right of peoples to comprehensive development. In 1974, Paul VI, in the document "Human Rights and Reconciliation," said: "The promotion of human rights is required by the Gospel, and should be central to the service of the Church." The Papal Commission "Iustitia et Pax" elaborated extensively on the attitude of the church to human rights in a separate document in 1975. Finally, in our time, [there is] John Paul II, whose entire Message as proclaimed in documents, speeches and homilies during his pastoral travel throughout the world revolves around man, his dignity and rights, and justice. He puts forth these principles in, among others, his latest encyclical "Sollicitudo rei socialis." John Paul II may be called the Pope of Human Rights perhaps more than any of his predecessors.

Finally, there is no need to recall here the role which the Catholic Church now plays in many countries in the struggle for defending human rights—a struggle which already has its martyrs, such as Archbishop Romero in El Salvador and Father Jerzy Popieluszko in our country.

Returning to the train of thought interrupted by this digression on the subject of the church and human rights, we should say that the awareness of human rights, the effort to have them respected, to create institutional guarantees for compliance with them, may be considered the top achievement of Western, European civilization.

and, maybe, of human civilization in general. Let us recall that these basic rights are the freedom of conscience and convictions, religious freedom (which to the believers is the root of all freedoms), freedom of searching for the truth, or the freedom to express one's view through word of mouth and in writing, freedom of information he might need, and, finally, freedom of association (including trade unions) and participation in public life, or an opportunity to influence in a decisive manner the political system, law, and the way of discharging power.

However, at present a tremendous contrast exists between official affirmations of human rights and compliance with them, also in many states which have ratified the requisite documents proclaiming human rights. Human rights happen to be in more danger at present than ever before. To be sure, human rights have been very frequently unrecognized, restricted or violated by various tyrannies, despoticisms, dictatorships and absolutist systems. However, these have generally been consequences of the practice of discharging power, rather than theory. Totalitarian states, proclaiming ideologies which completely subordinate the individual to the state, systems which, contrary to verbal declarations, do not consider human rights inalienable, do not recognize the freedom of speech and association, atomize society by destroying all organic relationships in order to face the naked, isolated individual with the omnipotence of the state, did not appear in the arena of history until the 20th century. This is without precedent in human history.

Certainly, some of these 20th-century totalitarian systems are no more. Others evolve in a quite surprising and unexpected manner before our eyes, which should undoubtedly be recognized as a favorable development giving rise to some hope. However, let us not be misled too easily. The totalitarian danger to human rights will exist for as long as basic ideological premises, and the intentions of the authorities derived from them, are not changed, for as long as basic human rights are not formally acknowledged and legally guaranteed as inalienable rights, and for as long as the transcendence of the person with regard to institutional structures is not recognized.

Let us not forget that other dangers for mankind are looming at present, especially the threat of war, the threat of pollution and destruction of the natural environment, the crises of civilization and values, the decay of morality, etc. However, all of these dangers are associated with the issue of human rights.

Let us dwell here on the topic of a connection between the threat to peace and respect for human rights. Certainly, the scope of armaments and the possession by man of terrible means of destruction, such as nuclear arms, are a threat hanging over peace in the world as the sword of Damocles. However, the status of armaments is a symptom, a consequence which does not say much

about the causes. Some 10 years ago, the Swedish Institute of Polemology released a compilation showing that, since the end of World War II, about 150 armed conflicts, local and regional wars, large or small, have occurred in the world (such as, for example, the recently completed—fortunately, it appears—bloody, absurd war between Iran and Iraq). Since this report was released, the number of such wars has certainly increased. However, the report mentioned suggests that not one of these more than 150 wars was fought between two democratic states, or two states respecting human rights. This shows that, in practice, only the states not respecting human rights, that is, totalitarian states and dictatorships of various kinds, are the source of wars at present. This is so because people do not want wars, and it does not come to wars in a system where people are able to influence the decisions of the government.

This is certainly not to say that the process of disarmament and reduction in military arsenals and negotiations bringing about the coexistence of states with different systems should be neglected. Nonetheless, more comprehensive compliance with basic human rights is a real and more permanent safeguard of peace.

Finally, I would like to touch on two specific issues. The first one is the issue of a relationship between political and economic human rights. In our century, in the course of preparing documents on the subject of human rights by the international community, this relationship was the object of continuous controversy between two different concepts of human rights: the Western, liberal, or, as some might prefer, "bourgeois," concept and the Eastern, socialist one. It is known that, due to such differences, 8 states, including the Soviet Union and Poland, abstained at the time of adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in San Francisco in 1945. A compromise based on the adoption of two separate pacts in Geneva in 1966—the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights and the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights—rather than a single pact embracing all these rights, as the states of the socialist camp and many Third World countries demanded, was the result of the same difference.

Against the background of this dispute, the definition of political rights as "the first generation" human rights became customary, whereas economic rights would be "second generation" rights. This difference was complemented by the "third generation" of human rights, namely, the right of peoples to develop, formulated by, among others, the African Charter of Human and People's Rights of 1981 and the 1986 UN Declaration on the right to development. (It should be recalled that the encyclical of Paul VI "Populorum progressio" of 1967 preceded these documents considerably.)

We have quoted a catalog of main political rights above a couple times. Let us recall that the economic, social and cultural rights referred to in the pact on the "second

"generation" rights, are, among other things, the right to work, to social security, to an adequate standard of living, to health care, to study and education, and to partaking in culture.

The debate over which of these rights are more important and which should be given priority in the effort to implement them has been going on to this day. As far as this priority, or the eventual sequence in securing human rights is concerned, nobody can object to [the fact that] a hungry, naked and homeless man needs first of all to satisfy his biological needs, whereas he may not be even able to take advantage of political rights. Moreover, according to the socialist concept of human rights, implementing economic rights may require that political rights be restricted or suspended, delaying compliance with them until a later time.

Unfortunately, experience indicates that this contradiction between political and economic rights is illusory. After all, it turns out that restricting political rights by no means facilitates implementing economic rights, and that the implementation of the political rights not only fails to interfere in implementing economic rights, but is a prerequisite for their implementation.

However, the second distinction between the political and economic rights, based on them having, in the words of the late lamented Jan Strzelecki, different leading actors, is much more important.

Namely, man, or the citizen, is the main actor of political rights, whereas the state is such, in relation to economic rights. This means that man uses political rights, i.e. freedom of conscience, convictions, speech, right to information, to association and participation in public life. The role of the state in this matter is negative, it consists of refraining from prohibition and restrictions. This is why political rights may be implemented immediately, after all, the Geneva pact on the "first generation rights" demands this expressis verbis in the words: "Each of the states—parties to the present Pact undertakes to comply with the rights recognized by the present Pact...and ensure them for all individuals."

On the other hand, the citizen takes advantage of the economic rights—of the right to work, to an adequate living standard, to education, etc.—but only to the degree and in the scope which the state, the main actor, is capable of ensuring for him. It is known that the state can ensure these rights only to a degree, and sometimes cannot ensure them at all, i.e. cannot eliminate unemployment, ensure nourishment without outside help, etc. This is why the degree of obligatory character of these economic rights is very different, and nobody may demand their immediate implementation. Therefore, the Geneva economic pact says: "Each of the states—parties to the present Pact undertakes to take the necessary steps...in order to gradually achieve the complete implementation of the rights recognized by the present pact."

The conclusion suggested by this is that the political and economic rights are interdependent and that they are the mutual prerequisites for their implementation. The question of which of these rights are more important is practically nonsensical, though, apparently, political, civil and economic rights enjoy priority, all the more so because guaranteeing them, in theory, is a very simple matter.

Finally, there is one more problem: the issue of enforcing one's rights by an individual or social groups whose rights were abridged. Certainly, bodies inside the state, which make possible upholding one's rights, e.g. the office of the ombudsman, or human rights defender, exists, or should exist, in every state.

However, the issue I am touching on involves something greater, specifically, an opportunity to appeal to an international body (including the right to appeal to international public opinion), which is also called the right to petition. The significance of this right appears evident; in countries with a totalitarian system or a dictatorship, basic human rights may be violated in a drastic manner, and victims of this situation frequently do not have any opportunity to defend themselves.

The legislators saw such a need: the International Pact on Political Rights envisaged setting up the Human Rights Committee, while the voluntary (or optional) protocol, which was an annex to this pact, provides for an opportunity for complaints, filed by individuals whose rights were violated, to be accepted and considered by this committee. Unfortunately, very few states from among those who have ratified the political pact have also ratified the voluntary protocol.

It should be added that the European Human Rights Convention (1959), ratified only by West European states, also provides for the opportunity to consider complaints by individuals, citizens of countries—parties to the conventions. Plans to set up the International Tribunal of Human Rights and to establish the office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, or an ombudsman of sorts with worldwide jurisdiction, were suggested in the course of work on the documents on human rights. However, both of these beautiful projects did not end up being carried out.

In practice, there is no opportunity at present to petition or appeal beyond the borders of one's own state. The states refuse to recognize the right to petition, referring to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the state, which supposedly follows from the nature of sovereignty.

The words of chairman Lech Wałęsa, "There are no boundaries for human rights," are the motto of our conference. Every man is a member of his people and a citizen of his state, but he also is a member of the entire human family, a citizen of the world, despite the lack of legal documents confirming this citizenship. If basic

human rights are blatantly violated somewhere, this matter involves all of mankind, everyone of us. A victim of coercion and lawlessness has a right to turn to the international community for help, whereas the latter has the obligation to provide such help. Institutional mechanisms for providing such help should exist. This is why common and hypocritical references to the principle of non-interference in such cases should be rejected.

After all, on the one hand, the sovereignty of states is now systematically violated by the relationships of dependency emerging de facto if not de jure, and forced upon weaker states by stronger states. Therefore, it is all the more incorrect to make the principle of sovereignty an absolute of sorts, because—I repeat—the human community has a right and a duty to take interest, across the borders of states, in the fate of any of its members, when, defenseless and helpless, he falls victim to coercion or injustice.

This suggests that the principle of state sovereignty and its consequences should be profoundly revised by the international community. I do not think that this problem can be solved satisfactorily in the immediate future. I only think that we cannot afford to forget about this issue if we want to build a more humane world.

During the proceedings of our conference, we will consider what can be done for human rights now and what role independent social movements may play in the struggle for respect for these rights. Only one thing is important in what I have said: the entire future of our civilization, whether the world will, or will not, submerge into the dark night of barbarism, depends on defending human rights.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

**Swedish Journalist Views Situation in Slovenia**  
23000008 Vienna WIENER TAGEBUCH in German  
Sep 88 pp 10-13

[Article by Richard Swartz, East European correspondent for SVENSKA DAGBLADET, residing in Vienna: "Slovenian Spring"; article translated from the Swedish by Halina Storey]

[Text] The editorial offices of MLADINA are located on the third floor of an old patrician house and the white-washed half-weathered wall medallions in the entrance hall do not depict Tito but rather Roman emperors or Greek gods. I am mounting the stairs for the second time already; the day before, a nervous cleaning lady dared open the door only a crack after she became convinced that I was nothing more dangerous than a journalist, a foreign one at that. She opened the door little and smiled in a friendly manner, perhaps even with relief. "The young gentlemen will not come again until tomorrow."

The next day, I am there again and they are, truly, young. The first one whom I see is sitting bare-chested over a typewriter with a large black dog at his feet. A watchdog? On the wall opposite, a placard bears the sensational headline of the Swedish EXPRESSEN. It shows the Yugoslav ambassador, who is brandishing a pistol and who not only strengthened the conviction of all those in Sweden, but also here in Ljubljana that people from the Balkans are equipped with poison-tipped umbrellas or, at the very least, with shooting irons. But Ljubljana is not the Balkans, Ljubljana is part of Europe. When I inquired about Robert Botteri, I was referred to the next room. There, I was received by the editor in chief of MLADINA. He was wearing flowery short pants—or are they undershorts?—and by and large the atmosphere in these editorial offices was as it is everywhere in the world where a good newspaper is being produced.

Botteri is 24 years old and accepts the unexpected fame of his newspaper with composure. It is hard to believe that this slender and, in his own words, phlegmatic person managed to enrage the entire military leadership. But in the course of our conversation I begin to understand what makes him such a challenge to the army—it is his lack of fear. His very calm quiet must act as a provocation and he is no longer alone in this because everywhere in eastern Europe a generation has grown up that knows hardly anything other than the Tito cult or the lull of the Brezhnev era; war and Stalinism is not in their bones as it is in those of their insecure elders. This generation has not yet been punished by history as was the case with the generation preceding it and Robert Botteri is almost a youngster who barely needs to shave and whose boundless confidence would leave an arrogant impression if it were not so disarming.

He says that the liberal politicians in Slovenia must follow the line of his newspaper, since this was their last chance, lest they be destroyed by the conservative forces. "My newspaper," he says, "has more readers than there are party members." He denies having any fear, although the army carried out a house search of the editorial offices and two of his employees have been in custody for weeks (in the meantime, they have been sentenced by a military tribunal to lengthy sentences of incarceration). They are both accused of "treason" and of "disseminating military secrets."

But he has no fear and I believe him.

What is the line of the newspaper? To break the political and ideological monopoly of the communists, to establish a civilian society and, in time, have a multiparty system. I ask him about his role models. He names John Stuart Mill, Thomas Paine, and several others of whom I have never heard before. I am forced to ask a number of times before I recognize a name—Claus Offe. "Of the German Green Party," explains editor in chief Botteri patiently. But who is John King? I do not dare ask.

MLADINA is encountering the same problems as LITERARNI LISTY did during the Prague spring of 1968: everyone, even if they are no longer students or are not interested in the problems of youth, must read it. One can forego MLADINA, precisely as was the case previously, but then one cannot learn the latest news, one does not know which acts of impudence one dare engage in, which taboos one can now break; one is, quite simply, not up on things. In the Yugoslav society, in which currently almost everything is being stood on its ear, MLADINA is absolutely indispensable, even though Slovenian is virtually a secret language that gives Croatians, Serbs, and Macedonians great problems.

In the evening, there is a solidarity meeting for those who were arrested in an old motion picture theater at Kersnikova Street, No 4. Several hundred people crowd into the gloomy, black-painted room; only a few find room to sit down on the creaking wooden seats. A dog is barking in the stairwell. I notice that not only young people are disturbed by the attack on the freedom of thought in Slovenia: Apart from young people and the notorious small group of pompous types and chatterboxes, the crowd also includes several older citizens; behind me, there is an older gentleman who uses a cane and who repeatedly cups his hand behind his ear in order to hear better.

What can one do? There are many proposals, but only a few realistic ones. After all, the Yugoslav Army is no paper tiger. Almost all men wear beards and speak in muffled voices using controlled gestures. The women also speak quietly. The mood reminds me of the gathering of young people in the Protestant churches in the GDR. A young man with a blond beard reads a solidarity telegram from the European Parliament in Strasbourg. The enthusiastic applause shows that, although one would like to be a part of Europe, there is not perhaps complete understanding regarding the actual influence of this institution.

Later, we sit outside in the early summer evening and drink wine. If we were not served squid and sauteed frog legs, one could believe that we were at an inn in Corinthia or drinking Heurigen in Vienna. The blistering imperial yellow paint job, the church spire that extends over the terra-cotta tile roofs, the tiny volunteer fire department, and the dog under the table who likes neither squid nor frog legs and has, therefore, given up—we are in middle Europe. Hours before, I had discovered some graffiti on the wall of a house. "Burek? No, thank you." Burek is a fat-oozing meat-filled pastry that is popular farther south in the Balkans. And both of the German words "Nein, danke"—painted in red—represent a blow against everything that is oriental in Yugoslavia and, from the Slovenian perspective, primitive.

We speak of the fact that the Slovenes never had a state of their own and were never molded by it as a nation. Young Slovenes complain that they cannot identify with the Yugoslav Army; in no other East European city have

I seen so many antiarmy slogans or antinuclear symbols plastered on the walls and on houses. Janez Janzha, one of the arrested employees of MLADINA, even proposed in an article that each republic of Yugoslavia be given the right to have its own territorial army. But not even the old imperial army could afford such extravagances and I suddenly notice that I am beginning to defend Belgrade and the *raison d'être* of the central power (and I am left alone with this opinion). In actual fact, it is the Serbs themselves who are the only people of Yugoslavia with their own state tradition. They take state power and the army seriously, something that at least in part provides the explanation as to why almost all generals are Serbs. However, since we are neither in Holland nor Denmark, but in the Balkans, it should not be surprising that Belgrade reacts sharply when the Slovenes, under the protection of the freedom of expression, drag everything pertaining to the state through the mud. As a guarantor of state power, the army, therefore, decided to teach the Slovenes—both those in opposition and also those in power—a collective lesson. The Slovenes are acting like thoughtless children: if they ridicule uniforms, become pacifists, or deny any form of authority, then this is a question of patricide, which can become both pathetic and dangerous since it is not taking place within the family, but between nations.

Bostjan Zupancic is a professor of legal science and wears a red fly with spots on it. I hardly believe that he shares my considerations for the reason for existence of a state, but he begins to explain events in Slovenia with the help of psychological and psychoanalytical arguments, rather than with juridical arguments quite spontaneously and with growing enthusiasm.

MLADINA, he says, provokes the collective subconscious of Yugoslavia. The newspaper brings into question collective myths, the partisan war, Tito, and the Army—and uses Freudian picture language to boot, in which the phallic symbol already shows up on the title page. But MLADINA is not the only one—there are a whole series of newspapers that are supported by a broad youth culture and that do not shy away even from Nazi symbols in order to provoke: Perhaps there is a lack of historic sensitivities, but also an almost desperate protest against narrow-mindedness in a society that is governed by ritual.

This is the manner in which Slovenian developments collide with the patriarchal values that exist farther south. The Slovenian spring goes against every generalization; it avows that which is particular and antiauthoritarian, it takes a position favoring that which is modern against that which is traditional. Professor Zupancic speaks of the "metaphysical energy" which is beginning to unfold among Slovenes. He describes the "tectonic movements" behind the events. They cause people to breathe and act differently than was the case before.

He says that not even in New York was there anything comparable to that which is happening in Slovenia (the professor must know this; he has just returned to the

University of Ljubljana after several years of teaching in the United States). However, this also means that Slovenia is becoming ever more isolated from the patriarchal and traditional south. But this democratic awakening, with a free press at its head, this thirst for modernity, can only lead Slovenia in the direction of Europe.

"Our nation is very small," says Zupancic, and, for the first time, one hears this from a Slovenian mouth as something positive. "It is so small that there is no need for more than three teachers at the philosophical faculty here in order to brainwash our entire elite with Heidegger and Lacan."

And, in fact, in the shop windows of bookstores, the works of Lacan and Alexander Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag III" are displayed side by side and between this post-modern future and the criminal past of socialism, there is nothing but embarrassment. When I asked a sales clerk for a biography of Tito, she must first check to see if they have one in stock.

While I am waiting, I page through the offering of Slovenian and foreign books: Stephen King in Slovenian, various meditational and therapeutic works, as well as entire stacks of sinfully expensive literature in English, on data technology, marketing, all the way through advanced bookkeeping. If such an assortment in a bookstore is a mirror of that which is moving in the depth of a society, then socialism has played out its role in Slovenia. For my part, I attempt to find out whether it might not be more informative for a journalist to study the spines of books, rather than to struggle through the latest party resolutions. This bookstore with its many levels appears to me to have a better assortment than a large bookstore in Vienna. Every book that I see on the shelves is a triumph over provincialism, a struggle that must be carried out daily and that requires more effort in the provinces than in the metropolis. This is the reason why we do not encounter that magnificent self-sufficient provincialism in a town like Ljubljana, but rather in London, Paris, or Berlin. Ljubljana cannot afford the provincialism of a metropolitan area. In the old city, at the foot of Castle Hill, the taverns lie close to one another; it is possible to take a glass of wine in one establishment, which is configured like a toilet, and then visit another where the waiter greets one at the door with a glass of champagne. In the middle of the night, efforts are made to lure me into a gallery where a selection of pictures by Salvador Dali is being shown. The National Museum is exhibiting Chinese paintings from the Ming and Quing Dynasties.

Even though provincialism exists in small nations, it is, nevertheless, far more intimate and likable than is the case with large nations. Often, this provincialism turns toward another small nation; like two dogs, they sniff each other in anticipation—in the late evening, I pass by

the opera, which was built under Kaiser Franz Joseph, and I see that there are two ballet performances on the program—Peer Gynt by Ibsen and Irene Holm, based on a novel by Hermann Bang.

But even the small format can be seducing. In Ljubljana, the university, the opera house, the National Museum, the Parliament, and various other buildings that are part of the self-awareness of a nation, are reachable on foot. I am warned against "rush-hour traffic" in the afternoon: it appears to consist of a few more bicycle riders than usual, but perhaps the "rush-hour traffic" is only a conjuration that is intended to help the Slovenes to convince themselves that they are part of Europe.

Also, the distance between people here is smaller. The editor in chief of MLADINA tells me that he meets with Slovenian party chief Milan Kucan in private with relative frequency, as though it were the most natural thing in the world for General Jaruzelski to invite Lech Walesa for coffee in order to discuss Poland's business with him. Given such a small distance, politics has the chance of becoming a matter for everyone. During lunch with the essayist and philosopher Dimitrje Rupel, I find a formula for this state of affairs: the Petoefi Club.

Of course! Just like Tibor Dery and other Hungarian writers became an inseparable part of the revolution in 1956 (which would never have taken place without them), so the Slovenian spring is one of these ever more rare societal protests during which the political climate is also a literary climate, during which Lacan is just as important as a Serbian general, during which a caricature is equally important as a decree. Politics becomes art, becomes a work of art in its totality. And while I am eating lunch with Dimitrje Rupel—an artist who speaks with equal passion about the injustice of the fact that the Slovenes are forced to pay a disproportionately large share of Yugoslavia's foreign debts as he does about a sonnet by Rilke—I think about how all this will end.

Is the Slovenian spring only an innocent and stunted repetition of the Prague spring?

"It all began with music," says Gregor Tomc, while we are sitting in the Cafe Union in its Sunday emptiness. His shirt is raven black, the black of the anarchist, whereas those who remember Mussolini's black shirts appear in red in today's Yugoslavia. It is morning and the draperies in the coffeehouse are drawn shut. A brownish portrait of Tito hangs on the wall and two rows of ridiculously small crystal chandeliers, a total of 17 pieces, hang from the ceiling.

Approximately 10 years ago, punk music reached Ljubljana, says Gregor Tomc. This was a raw and obtrusive kind of music that seemed to be created for an atomized society without a public. This asocial music neither reminded one of the partisan songs nor of the canonized folk music and the political class reacted to it with extreme aggressiveness.

Thus, punk musicians and their public were drawn into a polemic that forced them to discover politics; politics became the only possibility for defending their music, for gaining access to stages, and to acquire permission to play at all. This same music, which was the expression for a feeling that one stood outside of society, led them back into it. During this confrontation, other groupings soon emerged, the beginnings of the environment and peace movement, the gay power movement, and lesbian groups. Gregor Tomc believes that the hard core of the youth movement in Ljubljana numbers 200 or 300 young people, surrounded by at least 5,000 sympathizers.

"That is how the whole thing began," he says.

However, all of these groups did not find anything in common until the two editors of MLADINA and M Sgt Borstner were arrested. Unintentionally, the incursion by the Army acted as a catalyst. Now, all of us speak one and the same language, I was assured, and after participating in the solidarity meeting in Kersnikova Street, No 4, I am prepared to believe them. Perhaps because the Slovenes are only a small nation all of them, not only the intellectuals and the young people, appear to have understood with their national instincts that the arrests represent a provocation against all of Slovenia. In order to understand this, one need be neither lesbian nor a punk, it is sufficient to have insight into the fact that all of these groups exist only thanks to a liberal political climate that must be defended in the name of all Slovenes. Even those who do not read MLADINA or have never heard of Janez Janzha or David Tasic recognize that even their own civil liberties and rights are endangered if the Army arrests journalists which are uncomfortable for it and places them before a military court behind closed doors. It is precisely this that the 25,000 Slovenes who demonstrated for the release of those arrested must have feared. "Freedom, constitutional state, democracy" was written on the banner hanging across the facade of the university building.

"No one should be condemned or released before his guilt or innocence is proven," says Jose Smole, one of the

three most powerful politicians in Slovenia and, according to opinion inquiries, the most popular. But it does not sound particularly convincing; his argumentation has an energetic effect and sounds more committed once he demands that the trial be speeded up and the young people not be held for such a long period of time in a state of uncertainty. Perhaps the politician, who is under pressure, intends to say in this way that he, too, does not believe in their guilt.

His right hand shakes when he raises his coffee cup.

On the way back to the hotel, I pass by the large farmers' market between the river and Castle Hill, where farmers sell honey, wooden spoons, potatoes, and mushrooms. I buy two bundles of fresh radishes and, without having to ask, am given a brown paper sack for them. At the farmers' market in Belgrade only newspaper is available. The Gypsies there peddle plastic bags among the crowd so that the customers can carry their purchases home. Catty-corner across from the market, up the mountain, one sees the outline of the fortified castle, a symbol of an imperial, foreign power that ruled over the city at the foot of the mountain for centuries.

Since it is pleasantly cool despite the sunshine, and since Castle Hill is also adapted to Slovenian proportions, I decide to make my first visit to the castle. The wandering path uphill is bordered on both sides by large deciduous trees and when, 20 minutes later, I reach the castle I am not out of breath. But the castle is empty. Actually, it is almost a ruin; only one wing is open and a bridal couple stands waiting before a narrow gate with its guests. No one lives here anymore.

In the castle courtyard there are bricks and rubble in a heap. Inside the building several craftsmen are busy with restoration work, but they are so unenthusiastic and perform the work with such distaste as though they were afraid that someone might find so much to like in the newly restored castle that they would like to move in.

05911

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### Increased Use of Trainers, Simulators for Ground Forces

23000016 East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5, 1988 pp 226-228, 230

[Article by Lt Gen H. Zander: "Upgrading the Support of Combat Training and Maintenance of Combat Equipment, Weapons, and Personal Equipment"] txt

[Text] The basic military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states, to preserve the peace and to avoid armed confrontation requires that the ground forces be maintained in a state of combat readiness appropriate for a defensive capability; also, that manpower and weapons quality and quantity be available in consonance with realistic political and military requirements.

Even though, after years of confrontation, there appears to be a trend toward improvement, we cannot at this moment state that the danger of war has been averted entirely. On the contrary, the aggressive elements of NATO and the military-industrial complex are attempting to gain military superiority over the USSR and the socialist camp. This is evident from the fact that instead of arms limitation and disarmament there are calls for modernizing combat equipment, for upgrading combat capabilities through the introduction of precision weapons and that work on the SDI program continues unabated.

For these reasons we cannot permit any reductions at present in the class mission accorded to the NVA [National People's Army] by the 11th Party Conference: to protect the socialist order and the peaceful life of its citizens against any enemy and to secure the sovereignty, the territorial integrity, the inviolability of the borders, and the security of the GDR.

Now more than ever we must make use of the advantages of our socialist society for the purpose of fulfilling the tasks entrusted to the NVA in an exact and effective manner. In actual practice, this requires us to make more efficient use of the manpower, materiel, and financial resources at our disposal.

To this end, a comprehensive upgrading was elaborated at the 14th Conference of Delegates as the main thrust for improving the national defense.

### Tasks for the Materiel and Weapons Area of the Ground Forces

Several points of emphasis for this upgrading emerged.

For one thing, the quality and effectiveness of the command, training and maintenance processes must be raised to a level which results from the requirements of the military-political situation and the revolutionary changes in the military domain. In addition, all tasks must be accomplished with a minimum of manpower

and other resources. These must always be used in a goal-directed and economical manner, i.e., effectively. Similarly important are improvements in working, service, and living conditions.

To accomplish these tasks, comprehensive inquiries and studies were made during the 1986/87 training year by order of the deputy minister and commander of ground forces in units and facilities of the ground forces.

The first priority in this task was a more effective structuring of combat training and to support it with appropriate combat equipment, weaponry, and personal equipment. This resulted in additional tasks. One of them was to make increased use of trainers and simulators and to improve the organization of equipment maintenance. There was a need for developing more effective maintenance and testing instruments which occupy an important function in maintenance technology. In addition, there had to be a revision of the indoctrination program for maintenance and repair personnel so as to do justice to increasing challenges.

However, the above cited areas could not be examined individually in as much as they are closely inter-related and together form an indivisible whole.

The Leistner Formation elements accomplished particularly valuable contributions in this respect. The results of the studies cited below are primarily based on the experiences of this operational group.

### Goal-Directed Methods of Combat Training

Studies conducted in the combat training area have shown that complex training is a useful method. It provides military knowledge, capabilities and proficiencies with effective use of time, manpower, and materiel. Thorough planning, organization and support for combat training, directed by the commanders supported by staffs and subordinate commands, provides more intensive troop training and improved performance. Combat equipment, weapons and personal equipment, as well as trainers, simulators, and training devices are used in a more economical manner, permitting reduced numbers of armored equipment in the troop elements. This results in benefits for scheduled equipment maintenance. It further permits more equal use of post and troop exercise areas, because fewer troops with their combat equipment need thus be moved to the exercise areas.

For all the advantages resulting from complex training we must not lose sight of the fact that greater demands are being made on instructor personnel. Directive No 02/88 by the minister for National Defense dated 27 March 1988, which deals with further development of service, working and living conditions for the NVA and the GDR border troops through 1990 and beyond, provides options for compensating for overtime in service and working hours incurred by them.

The trainers, simulators, and training devices introduced in the ground forces during the last few years are being used with increasing effectiveness. During the training year 1986/87 the motorized infantry and armored regiments reached their training goals with firing trainers and aiming practice devices. This provided the main basis for reducing the number of tanks, APC's, and armored infantry vehicles of the combat training detachment.

However, the smaller numbers of combat training equipment require constant availability of trainers and simulators and, therefore, their scheduled maintenance and repair. For this reason, the ground forces created a training equipment maintenance system for use by the deputy minister and chief of ground forces. Also, the trainers, simulators, and training devices of the technical forces have been integrated into the maintenance and repair system for combat equipment, weapons and personal equipment. In addition, service contracts have been signed for training and repair with state-owned industrial concerns and foreign suppliers.

To reduce the use of combat equipment even further, plans call for additional trainers, simulators and training devices to be introduced into the training program of the ground forces. Commanders of units and facilities are responsible for seeing that the subjects in the combat training curricula are effectively covered by use of these devices.

#### New Maintenance Methods

Apart from combat training, the major impact upon daily events in ground forces units and facilities consists of the organization and implementation of daily equipment maintenance. Regulations call for its performance after use daily, its mission being full readiness for use of military equipment. The studies and investigations showed the following:

Daily equipment maintenance can be organized more economically, if maintenance tasks are restricted to requirements emanating from the specific training subject area concerned. In addition, the work tasks must be specifically and individually distributed among the crew/team members. Their interaction in maintenance tasks must be precisely prescribed. In this, particular attention must be paid to perform the most time-consuming tasks in an organized and time-motion-efficient manner.

Entirely new procedures were created in elaborating maintenance technologies for armored equipment. Separate maintenance technologies were created for the maintenance following:

- firing exercises;
- tactical and driving training;
- underwater or water surface travel;
- return to the base.

Significant innovations have been made also in complex technologies for missile equipment and armament, which combine the maintenance of the special and base

components. Tasks have been coordinated and the maintenance tasks have been reduced to the truly essential work. The daily equipment maintenance for motor vehicle equipment was elaborated in a similar manner. Thereafter, there was an additional revision in maintenance technologies for the main types of armored and motor vehicle equipment, jointly with the support services of the deputy minister and chief of materiel and armament. These technologies will be tested in the field during the 1987/88 training year.

The concentration of maintenance tasks on component assemblies used in training activities, as well as the maintenance of missile equipment and armament under the new technology system was partly responsible for considerable savings in time. With the T 55A medium tank for instance, the following time savings were accomplished, according to experience made to date: 15 minutes (7 percent) in maintenance after return to base; 90 minutes (43 percent) in maintenance following firing, tactical and driving training, and 30 minutes (14 percent) in maintenance following underwater travel.

Another means planned for improving maintenance of combat equipment, weapons and personal equipment is the use of more modern maintenance, testing and diagnostic instruments. In view of mounting maintenance costs, the significance of highly productive maintenance devices and their effective use increases greatly. In close cooperation with the users in the Ministry for National Defense great efforts were made during the 1986/87 training year to provide newly developed materiel to the troop units. Among them:

- a testing instrument for the special accessories of the T-72 tank;
- devices for making tank filter maintenance more economical;
- a cleaning device for tracks;
- mobile maintenance vehicles for the maintenance of motor vehicle equipment in long-term storage;
- a testing device for starters and generators;
- an improved testing instrument for fire fighting equipment;
- a mobile diagnostic facility for motor vehicle equipment.

Many of the above mentioned items have been developed in innovation projects. One example is the device used to determine the degree of filter dirtiness. An innovation collective, under the direction of civilian employee Joachim Buss, produced this testing instrument for effective maintenance.

These devices contribute to improving the quality of equipment maintenance. However, after issuing the above devices to the troop units, time savings can be attained only if maintenance and repair personnel are fully familiar with the devices and use them correctly in the maintenance process. Thus, the maintenance and repair specialists have a special responsibility in improving maintenance.

But the demands upon the knowledge and proficiency of specialist personnel increase also with the increase in the numbers of electro-optical and electronic component assemblies in armor technology and with the growing use of trainers, simulators and training devices. To enable them to accomplish their tasks it is necessary to train them in handling the complex component assemblies of combat equipment during their indoctrination in training facilities, and to make them proficient in continue advanced training. The peculiarities of maintenance and repair of trainers and simulators must be integrated into the training program to a greater extent than in the past.

#### Cleaning Facilities—A Crucial Part of Maintenance

At present a large part of the time allocated to maintenance is devoted to cleaning activities. Some of the materiel presently in use in the facilities for cleaning combat equipment is no longer adequate for improving the maintenance process. On the other hand, their full functioning must continue to be preserved for economic reasons, to permit cleaning the equipment under available condition also, though in a time-consuming manner. This, therefore, imposes the necessity of gradually modernizing and augmenting existing facilities in troop units using tracked equipment.

The objective is to improve the quality and effectiveness of the washing and cleaning processes and significantly to shorten pass-through times; to reduce the required work effort and partly to reduce the amount of incident physical effort. Of further importance is the requirement that the washing facility be suitable also for effective use during the winter months.

In accordance with a decision handed down on 1 March 1988 by the minister for national defense, construction has been started on a pilot facility for cleaning track equipment at the Spechitberg post. It will consist of the following elements:

- a vibrating track for preliminary cleaning;
- a washing facility for removing gross dirt;
- a washing shed, where detailed cleaning takes place.

To reduce manual operations for the crews, a partly automated wash rack will be used in the washing shed. Upon completion of the pilot facility, it will be thoroughly tested, the objective being to further improve technical operations and to prepare for its general use in the ground forces.

#### Materiel Support for Training Areas

Support of complex training programs requires that major equipment remain at the troop exercise areas for extended periods of time. This in turn generates the requirement that at the troop training areas specific capabilities be created for the maintenance and storage of combat equipment, as well as for improving the work, service and living conditions of instructors, drivers and

crews or service teams. To fulfill these requirements, the various facilities should contain the following elements:

- suitability of housing and subsistence of personnel;
- a maintenance point;
- parking spaces on permanent tracks;
- water line connections;
- electric power supply.

For the formal training program of the ground forces in September 1987 the trainees had access to a combined field maintenance and parking area (field park), which provides good opportunities for maintenance and repair under field conditions, pickup and transfer, and secure storage of combat equipment.

This particular facility is a good example of great utility being created with little expense. Due to the proximity of the installation there is no need for building special maintenance points and recreational facilities. This reduces costs significantly compared with those for construction of a complete field maintenance facility.

The proposed field park is to be built in the garrison training areas, where the distance between the training area and the installation is no greater than 10-15 km. This eliminates long arrival and departure mileage for the combat equipment, and training time can be used to greater advantage if the equipment remains in the field.

Issuing modern equipment to elements and units of the ground forces always entails the task of quick familiarization with the new military equipment and to attain a rapid increase in combat capability and combat readiness. However, we will have to fulfill this requirement in the future with approximately the same level of personnel and funds.

This fact alone confirms the condition that upgrading in the ground forces is not merely a one-time requirement, but rather an ongoing process.

The needed new quality of a comprehensive upgrading of all command, training and support functions which has an impact on the indoctrination, training and command of personnel, requires appropriate mass initiatives and achievements by all military and civilian personnel of the ground forces. This generates constantly increasing challenges to the leadership capability of the commanders and to their political and ideological indoctrination of army personnel.

Supervision of all upgrading programs by the commander, in close coordination and cooperation with the Party and FDJ base organization and with the labor union has become a practical necessity and an integral part of military life.

The same is true for a still closer integration of the Youth Researcher and Youth Innovators' collectives. The Innovation Movement and the MMM movement, socialist competition and opportunities for electronic data processing, into the comprehensive upgrading process.

## BULGARIA

### Cooperation With Soviets on Agriculture 22000046 Sofia *ISTORICHESKI PREGLED* in Bulgarian Jul-Aug 88 pp 3-19

[Article by Divol G. Peschani and Egnara G. Vartanyan (USSR): "Direct Soviet-Bulgarian Scientific and Industrial Ties in the Agro-Industrial Field"]

[Text] The stable, dynamic development of the agro-industrial field (AIF) and success of the food program are the chief economic and political tasks of the brother socialist countries. The effective resolution of these tasks will determine the intensification of their national economies, progress in the social sphere, their domestic economic invulnerability, and the consolidation of socialist positions in the world arena.

Growth and optimal collaboration between the countries of CEMA and transition towards greater industrial, scientific and technical cooperation, based on its most progressive and effective forms is one of the decisive factors that will determine the course and pace of success of the outlined goals, both within the framework of collaboration in general and in each country. Central to this process are the enhanced role of the direct producers, the development of direct ties between companies, organizations, and research institutes in the AIF of the brother countries, the formation of united collectives of scientists and specialists, of joint companies, etc.

The issue of collaboration between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria (PRB) in the AIF, and more precisely the issue of the development of direct ties, has yet to be reviewed, although certain data can be found in the work of the historians A.P. Butenko, E. G. Vartanyan, D.G. Peschani, P. S. Sokhan, G.A. Chernyko, Zl. Zlatev, V. Migev, G. Nikova, N. Papazov, G. Todorov, and others, and of the economists O. G. Bogomilov, B.E. Frumkin, G.A. Shmelev, Ts. Bozhkov, A. Dimov, N. Tsarevski, S. Shalamanov, and others.<sup>1</sup>

In the conditions of restructuring, searching for new, optimal forms of collaboration in keeping with today's demands, and bringing direct ties to the forefront, of undoubted interest are the discovery and investigation of the experience gained in the development of the above-mentioned ties between the USSR and the PRB. This experience may be used to work out common specific questions on the development of direct ties and their higher forms—joint companies, societies, temporary scientific collectives, and so on.

The direct industrial ties of many Soviet and Bulgarian companies, including those in the AIF, were born during the years of the first Bulgarian five-year plans, when, with the economic, scientific and technical assistance of the USSR, the foundations of modern socialist industry and large-scale collective agriculture began to be constructed in the PRB. From the end of the 40's, Soviet and

Bulgarian companies in the fields of energy, mineral fertilizers, tractor and farm machine building, irrigation, etc, worked closely in construction, employee training, setting up projects created in Bulgaria, selling and mastering the latest produce, and expanding and reconstructing capacity.

Rich experience has been gained in direct ties, intrasector production specialization and cooperation, for example, between labor collectives of the Rusen combine for farm machine building and similar Soviet companies in the towns of Zlatoust, Rostov, and Kharkov; between the Karlov and Minsk tractor factories, and between the Kharkov and Kishin tractor factories.<sup>2</sup> Of interest is the experience of the equal joint Soviet Bulgarian construction associations Sovbolstroy, the shipbuilding association Korbsos, the mining association Gorubso, and the Bulgarian-Soviet transport and aviation association Tabso, formed in the summer of 1950.<sup>3</sup> In 1967 the joint Soviet Bulgarian society began operations in Komi, ASSR.

The need to establish direct ties between kindred Soviet and Bulgarian institutes in the sphere of agriculture was put forward in a letter of May 1950 from the Director of the Institute of Agricultural Research in the PRB to the Academy of Sciences (AS) of the USSR.<sup>4</sup> The ties established were limited to an exchange of scientific papers and special delegations.<sup>5</sup> At that time, there were sporadic instances of the formation of higher forms of direct ties, of temporary Soviet-Bulgarian programmed scientific collectives.

The work of the Soviet scholars Academician I. P. Gerasimov and Corresponding Member I. N. Antipov-Karataev, who were sent to the PRB in 1947 at the request of the Bulgarian government to provide assistance in investigating the soil resources of the country and creating a soil chart, led to the creation of a joint scientific collective. It completed its work successfully and developed a soil chart for the country. The Soviet scientists and their Bulgarian colleagues were awarded the Dimitrov Prize in 1962 for the monograph "Soils in Bulgaria", which had been published in 1960.<sup>6</sup>

By resolution of academicians of science of the two countries, a joint collective of Soviet and Bulgarian scholars and specialists was formed to study the plant resources of the PRB. During an expedition in Bulgaria during 1956 and 1958, it collected, studied and replenished Bulgarian storehouses and the collections of the Soviet Research Institute of Crop Raising with 606 local selective varieties of grain, fruit, industrial and fodder crops.<sup>7</sup>

In 1956, the first agreements were signed to establish permanent direct scientific ties between the Soviet Research Institute of Tobacco and Makhorka (SRITM) in Krasnodar and the Bulgarian State Experimental Station for Tobacco in the village of Dzhebel; between

Magarach in Yalta and the Research Institute of Viticulture and Wine Production in Pleven. This first and often unique experience of direct collaboration of our countries demonstrated its enormous value and farsightedness. This form of collaboration consisted of mutual agreement on industrial, scientific and technical ties, joint rationalization of production, and advantages of merging and concentrating the research, construction and production potential of the partners.

Appreciating the great value and success of scientific collaboration, including the first experience of development of direct ties between scholars of the USSR and the PRB, the AS of the USSR and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences signed an agreement for scientific collaboration in November 1958. In it, considerable attention was given to coordinating scientific research, conducting joint studies on subjects of mutual interest for the two countries, establishing and completing direct ties and exchanging experience between academic institutes with identical profiles, and planning for joint execution of scientific work by their scientists. The academies undertook to render joint assistance in establishing ties with scientific institutions that were not part of the staff of the academicians.<sup>8</sup> The Permanent Commission on Agriculture in CEMA summed up the first experience of direct cooperation and accepted recommendations for the development of this form of cooperation.

From the end of the 1950's and throughout the 1960's direct ties were established between 22 research institutes with similar profiles of the Soviet Agricultural Academy of Sciences V. I. Lenin and the Ministry of Agriculture (MA) of the USSR on the one hand and 19 similar institutes of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Among them were the Soviet Institute of Experimental Veterinary Medicine and the Institute of Experimental Medicine at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the Crimean Regional Experimental Station of Ether- and Oil-Yielding Crops (in the town of Simferopol) and The Experimental Station for Ether- and Oil-Yielding Crops in Kazanluk;<sup>9</sup> the Soviet Institute of Crop Raising and the Institute of Crop Raising at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The annual collaboration agreements that were signed had a broad scope: seed exchange, seedlings, exchange of delegations of scholars and specialists, of papers presenting the results of research work, and of joint developments on current scientific problems.

For example, scholars from the Soviet Research and Technological Institute of Poultry Farming (SRTIPF) in the town of Zagorsk, specialists from Ptitseprom of the MA of the USSR, and Bulgarian scholars from the Institute of Poultry Farming in Kostinbrod began jointly to solve problems of genetics and selection in industrial poultry farming, and new and effective techniques for annual production of broilers. They exchanged the best material in the meat and egg-producing field, developed a recipe for the optimal needs of different varieties of

birds in basic food substances, etc. Thanks to direct ties, development was accelerated and specialization and collaboration in the research of Soviet and Bulgarian scholars expanded on the most important problems associated with intensification of the AIF in the USSR and the PRB.

At the end of the 1960's, in certain cases the growth of direct scientific ties of the institutes in our countries took on a higher form of integration of scientific forces: formation of joint temporary scientific collectives to resolve agricultural problems facing the two countries. Thus, direct collaboration in the development of the problem of "programming of yields of the most important agricultural crops" grew into the formation by scientific institutes in Leningrad, Moscow, Sofia, Plovdiv of temporary programmed scientific collective headed by the Soviet academician, I.S. Shatilov. From the Bulgarian side, 7 institutes, experimental stations, and more than 200 scholars and specialists participated. The integrated collective entirely resolved the scientific, introductory and practical questions, developed methodology for increasing soil fertility and optimizing fertilization and irrigation, which produced good results: for one thousand hectares of corn, the prime cost of grain production fell by 23 percent, and the yield increased by more than 50 percent.<sup>10</sup> In the following years, the joint collective of scholars from the Institute of Soil Science and Programming of Yields N. Pushkarov and from the Leningrad Agrophysical Institute (LAI) developed an aeroecological model for water exchange of soil with a heavy mechanical composition, the use of which led to more effective exploitation of the soil and an increase in yields.<sup>11</sup>

The direct ties of scholars from the USSR and the PRB in researching the problem of infertility of agricultural animals and managing the processes of reproduction and fertility developed at the end of the 1960's into the formation of a temporary Soviet-Bulgarian collective under the leadership of Prof P. I. Shatilov. The collective brought together scholars and specialists from the Soviet Research Institute of Animal Husbandry (in the town of Dubrovitsa), the Moscow Veterinary Academy, the Institute of Chemistry at the AS of the USSR, on the Soviet side, and from the Institute of Biology and Pathology for the Reproduction of Agricultural Animals (Sofia), the Institute of Animal Husbandry (Sofia), and the Veterinary Institute in Vratsa, on the Bulgarian side. This collective discovered and used natural biological stimulants to produce new, highly effective substances.<sup>12</sup> The results of the research were approved by the Scientific and Technical Council of the MA of the USSR and the MAFI of the PRB, which recommended that they be introduced into production and mass practice in 1971. Thanks to application of the developed substance, the weight of calves increased by 12 percent, the fecundity of sheep improved by 23 to 43 percent and that of pigs by 27 percent.<sup>13</sup>

But despite this, during the 1960's it was difficult for direct ties to make their mark. The direct producers and

related companies were not sufficiently connected among themselves to maximize potential, the circle of those who had the right to direct ties was strictly limited, collaboration was unnecessarily controlled "from above," only through academies of sciences, ministries, and foreign trade organizations. This paralyzed the initiative of direct participants in collaboration, did not permit them to use direct ties to gather full force and develop their opportunities.

In the period of the preparation of the Complex Program for Further Expansion and Improvement of the Collaboration and Development of Socialist Economic Integration of the Member States of CEMA, adopted during 1971, the question of direct ties was discussed as an important form for expansion of specialization and cooperation of production of the countries of CEMA. During 1969 and 1970 at the 23rd and 24th sitting of the sessions of CEMA, resolutions were adopted concerning the development of direct ties between state agencies and business organizations of the countries of CEMA, the need to create and set up international economic organizations, and the search for new forms of collaboration. Within the development of direct ties, tasks were assigned for the specific obligations of the partners to be planned, for strong production contacts to be established, and for all participants to develop an interest in direct collaboration to develop durable, quality products.

In 1971 the Complex Program laid the groundwork for the practical fulfillment of the systematic, complex approach to achieve collectively assigned goals in all spheres of collaboration of the countries of CEMA. Its success allowed a series of important social and economic tasks in the AIF to be resolved and assisted in the expansion of cooperative ties between business units of the two countries, particularly on a bilateral basis. The organization of collaboration was perfected in the time leading up to the signing of a series of agreements and treaties. This began to encompass more areas of major sectors in the agro-industrial complex (AIC).

In the first block of the AIF, specialization and cooperation in production encompassed a fixed range of machinery and equipment for agricultural use, for the food industry and restaurants, and vehicles for the service and maintenance of farm machinery, became widespread in a large part of veterinary substances, in remedies for plant protection, chemical and fodder supplements.<sup>14</sup> For example, thanks to the direct ties of the collectives of the Soviet Institute of Agricultural Machinery and the Bulgarian Factory for Electronics and Nonstandard Apparatus (FENA) in Tolbukhin, a first was registered in farm machine building in the socialist countries in as much as the combines and farmers in the USSR and the PRB were supplied with electronic control and management systems—the KEDR, USAK and USK produced by FENA.<sup>15</sup>

In the second block of the AIF, cooperation and specialization encompassed, for example, the production and mutual supply of varieties of seed and seedlings, almost 40 percent of the basic sorts of agricultural crops, and the gene pool for many breeds of farm animals. In the third block of APS, specialization encompassed only individual types of food and tobacco production (a protein sausage casing, wines, etc.).

These achievements were to a large extent determined by the consolidation of ties of departments and production of a similar profile. The advantage of such a form of collaboration lies in the complexity and mutual coordination of the scientific and technical ties, joint rationalization of production, and the expansion of international specialization and cooperation. This form allowed the potential for research, construction, production and other areas to be combined and concentrated.<sup>16</sup> Analysis shows that during the 1970's and the first half of the 1980's scientific and technical collaboration developed most successfully and widely in the AIF. More than 20 percent of the overall number of coordinating centers set up by CEMA to resolve important scientific problems fell within the second and third blocks of the AIF, agriculture and the food industry.<sup>17</sup> Thus, from 1981 to 1985 direct scientific and technical collaboration expanded in the AIF, accomplished by the scholars of the institutes of the AS of the USSR, VASKHNIL, the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR, the MA of the USSR, the Ministry of Meat and Dairy Production of the USSR, the Ministry of Tractor and Farm Machinery Building of the USSR and others, with Bulgarian colleagues from the institutes of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, a number of ministries and the National Agro-Industrial Union (AIU) of the PRB.<sup>18</sup> The division of labor set up in the AIF became apparent in as much as each year Bulgarian seed varieties of corn, soy, grafted nonviral vine saplings and fruit crops were supplied to the USSR, as well as pedigree animals, veterinary substances, laboratory apparatus, etc. From the USSR, Bulgaria received seeds for wheat, millet, barley, rice, peas, long-fibred flax, sunflowers, citrus saplings and also pedigree animals.

Intensive exchange of long-term varieties of agricultural crops continued between scientific institutions. During the first half of the 1980's, the Soviet Union received about 250 varieties for experimentation, and 870 varieties of agricultural crops arrived in Bulgaria from the USSR. In recent years, thanks to the successful experiments in the PRB, Soviet varieties of spring brewery barley (Zirnograd 73), millet (early Kinel), two varieties of onion, three Soviet varieties of wild strawberries and three of blackberries, which demonstrated advantages over local varieties, were divided into districts.<sup>19</sup>

During the 1980's, thanks to joint selection work of Soviet and Bulgarian scholars, two early hybrids of corn (Kos 637) were produced with high yield indices, exceeding the standard in yield; hybrid tomatoes (Soyuz 1 and

Soyuz 2) were produced and divided in three oblasts in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), Moldavia and the Ukraine; an original early variety of Misket grape (Druzhba) was produced, of which 2.5 thousand saplings were sent to the USSR for propagation. Thanks to joint work of Soviet and Bulgarian scholars, a method of accelerated cultivation and propagation of nonviral seedlings of fruit crops was also developed, as well as a highly effective system of fertilization of strawberries during sprinkling or heavy irrigation, and highly effective genetically engineered substances against certain diseases that attack tomatoes, cucumbers, and tobacco. Experiments on one thousand hectares of tomatoes increased the yields by 20 percent.<sup>20</sup>

The 20-year period of development of direct scientific ties between the Crimean Experimental Station and the Institute of Seed Production (Obratsov Chiflik) in the Rusen okrug allowed the best, most long-term fruit crops to emerge from experiments with new varieties and led to the creation of apple orchards of the Tavriya variety in the Varna okrug, to apricot plantations of the Yantarni variety in the agro-industrial combines in Borovo and Byatovo in the Rusen okrug; and in the Crimean oblast, plantations of garden strawberries and a 70-hectar apple orchard of Bulgarian varieties have been producing fruit for 10 years.<sup>21</sup> These examples bear witness to the efficacy of direct ties of Soviet and Bulgarian scholars in the AIF, to cooperation and the division of their labor.

During the 1980's, one of the new forms of direct ties is the mutual exchange between intensive industrial technologies of scientific and material guarantees for cultivation of different agricultural crops, animals, and the production of food products. During recent years, Soviet technology has been used successfully to cultivate in the PRB sugar beet, onion, long-fibred flax, lavender, citrus and subtropical crops (dates, pomegranates, tea, olives). For example, at the AIC Byala Slatina during 1985, the yield of sugar beet, processed by Soviet technology, increased by 10 hundredweight per hectare. Soviet industrial technology for cultivation of onions, introduced on 38 hectares of the AIC Burgas, allowed the technicians G. Dimov and G. Borisov to reduce material costs per planted hectare to 800 leva, to eliminate manual labor and to double the yield.<sup>22</sup>

Progressive technology developed by Soviet scholars has been introduced into the Bulgarian food industry for the production of nonperishable goods from curdled milk at the dairy combine Serdika in Sofia and for new varieties of processed cheese at the dairy combine in Shumen. Substitutes have been arranged for whole fat milk at companies in Khaskovo and Elin Pelin, the Soviet P strain has been introduced in the production of citric acid, and new dairy desserts have been introduced. As a result of collaboration, the technical plans of a number of companies in the confectionary, oil-producing, wine and tobacco industries in the PRB have been improved.<sup>23</sup>

Bulgarian technology for intensive farming used between 1981 and 1985 has led to successful cultivation in several southern regions of the USSR of corn, autumn wheat, leguminous plants, and tobacco of the Virginia variety; and plantations of walnuts and sprinkler systems for irrigation of citrus groves have been developed. For example, use of Bulgarian technology for tree pruning increased the yield of apples in several fruit plantations in the Krasnograd area by 15 to 20 percent per hectare. Soviet specialists in the PRB studied and together with Bulgarian scholars developed a plan to introduce little or no-waste technology in several companies involved in meat and dairy production in the USSR.<sup>24</sup>

However, in the course of fulfillment of the Complex Program of 1971, certain theoretical concepts were not corroborated. The exceptionally centralized economic mechanism of cooperation created at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's was adapted above all to serving specialization and collaboration between the national economic complexes of the countries overall. In recent years the international socialist division of labor began to fall behind the growth of the national economies, several food questions failed to be resolved, as had been planned, by mutual supplies of food stocks within the framework of CEMA, their export from the West increased, rates of technical progress decreased, and the problems of production quality and foreign economic vulnerability became more acute.<sup>25</sup>

The primary obstacles along the path to development of direct ties were not surmounted. Many of the created forms and methods of organization of collaboration no longer met current opportunities and needs.<sup>26</sup> Its efficacy decreased with the introduction of scientific achievements in production, chiefly because of inadequate material and technical resources, because of the long agreement on questions of product introduction, because research and construction work in our countries was still duplicated in some cases. International cooperation did not encompass all stages of the production cycle: development, introduction, production, marketing, postproduction service.

Direct production, scientific and technical ties were restricted; they encompassed a small part of the economic mechanism of the brother countries. For example, in the middle of the 1980's, within the framework of CEMA, only 12 international associations and seven joint companies were in operation. Only 300 Soviet companies had direct ties with companies of the fraternal countries. Due to undeveloped direct ties in cooperation, few companies and sectors of the AIF were attracted. The share of cooperative supplies of production comprised barely 5 to 11 percent of the total volume of trade turnover.<sup>27</sup>

From the beginning of the 1980's the objective need continued to grow for acceleration of the integration processes, further expansion of international socialist division of labor, for improvement of intensification,

increased efficacy of collaboration of brother countries, and of raising production, scientific and technical cooperation to a qualitatively higher level. Most important was the task of transition towards greater intrasector production cooperation, towards increasing within this process the role of direct producers along the path to developing direct ties between companies, associations, and research institutions of the fraternal countries, towards creating united collectives of scholars and specialists, of joint companies, etc.<sup>28</sup> Several questions became pressing: the need for radical restructuring of economic relations, transition towards new, more progressive forms of cooperation, and acceleration of the integration processes for joint resolution of urgent issues.

The resolutions of the Moscow meetings of the countries of CEMA (June 1984, November 1986), and of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the 13th Congress of the BCP, as well as the adopted Complex Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of the Member Countries of CEMA to the Year 2000 and the Programs for Economic, Scientific and Technical collaboration between the USSR and the PRB to the year 2,000, are of major significance in the development of the new economic strategy that meets the urgent objective needs of expansion of cooperation of the brother countries and in particular of the USSR and Bulgaria. These emphasize the dominating trend of specialization and cooperation of production and consolidation of material and intellectual resources of our brother countries. The restructuring of the entire mechanism of cooperation is explained, as are the transfer of the center of gravity of the integration of chiefly trade ties directly into production and scientific and technical activity, the mass extension of direct ties of labor and scientific collectives of similar companies, of scientific and production associations, the formation of temporary programmed scientific collectives, and establishment of these ties on a sound economic footing. "Introduction of the most recent developments, technology and scientific inventions is a common concern," said M. S. Gorbachev at the meeting of secretaries of the Central Committee of the brother parties responsible for agricultural questions. Essentially, I have in mind technologic restructuring of the agro-industrial complex and extensive specialization and cooperation in the sphere of farm machinery, chemistry and biotechnology.<sup>29</sup>

The stipulated resolutions also envisage the creation of conditions for the transition of collaboration from existing forms towards complex, intrasector and intersector integration, and towards elimination of all obstacles along the path to development of direct ties. In keeping with the course outlined, a series of decrees of the CC of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR were adopted for a radical improvement in foreign economic activity, for the system of creation of international associations between the USSR and other countries of CEMA, for the creation of a state foreign economic commission at the Council of Ministers of the

USSR, and for granting considerable rights to companies and organizations to expand and intensify their cooperation with foreign partners.<sup>30</sup>

Also resolved was the question of the manner of settling accounts for direct cooperative supplies and scientific and technical ties along the path to signing agreements between the banks of the USSR and the PRB.<sup>31</sup> Great opportunities have been opened up for accelerating the process of socialist economic integration, expansion of production and scientific and technical cooperation within the framework of the alliance. The appropriate ministries and departments of the USSR suggested that the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU take the necessary steps to further expand direct production ties of the working collectives.<sup>32</sup>

The stipulated resolutions assist in the development of direct ties, guarantee an organizational, economic, contractual and legal basis for the new economic mechanism for management of the production, scientific and technical specialization and cooperation of brother countries, become an effective instrument in the formation of international production and technical complexes with a different scale and intensity in economics in general and in the AIF in particular. More than 20 ministries and department in the USSR, including the State Agro-Industrial Department, and more than 70 of the largest societies and companies in the country were granted the right of direct attainment of export-import operations with the countries of CEMA, the right to establish direct ties, to exercise with similar companies, scientific and introductory institutions joint planning, mastery of the latest machinery, specialization and cooperation in production, and reconstruction of the companies.

Ministries, departments and companies may exchange scientific and technical documentation and send specialists on foreign assignments. This allows a wide circle of labor and scientific collectives of the AIF to be included in direct collaboration of direct producers, creates the setting for direct ties on a mass scale, and improves the quality and efficacy of production. Thus, direct ties are invoked to become the fundamental direction of development and perfection of the whole mechanism of socialist economic integration and raise it to a qualitatively new, higher level.

The first steps in accomplishing the course outlined by the CPSU and the BCP are the documents prepared by the State Agro-Industrial Complex and the National Agrarian Industrial Union of the PRB during the summer of 1986 for integrated forms of reciprocity of our countries in the most important sectors for the AIF, that is machine building, microbiology, biotechnology, the food industry, crop raising and animal husbandry, agreement on the development of direct ties between companies of stipulated sectors, on the creation of joint scientific and industrial associations and of temporary joint programmed scientific collectives.<sup>33</sup> During November 1986, at the 42nd session of CEMA, an agreement was

signed between the governments of the USSR and the PRB to develop direct collaboration between 103 Soviet and 118 Bulgarian companies, associations and scientific institutions, a part of which is concerned with the above-mentioned spheres of the agro-industrial sector.<sup>34</sup> At the beginning of 1987, the collectives of 98 Bulgarian and 100 Soviet companies, associations and organizations held direct ties.<sup>35</sup> Particular attention was directed towards the development of new forms of Soviet-Bulgarian collaboration in the first block of the AIF. During December 1986 the Sector Program for Economic, Scientific and Technical Collaboration and Cooperation in the Sphere of Tractor and Farm Machinery up to the Year 2000 was signed, defining the fundamental directions of reciprocity, further division of labor, and the development of direct ties between companies in the USSR and the PRB in the given sector.<sup>36</sup> A protocol was adopted extending the agreement for specialization and cooperation in the sector of production of tractors and farm machinery: the USSR continues to specialize in the production of general purpose tractors, self-propelled chassis, caterpillar and axle tractors of varying classes, combines, general purpose seeders, factories for parts and maintenance of tractors and farm equipment; and Bulgaria—in the production of tractors for work on hillsides, tractors for cultivation of vineyards, machines for planting seedlings, special seeders, etc.<sup>37</sup> The documents adopted envisage not only measures to expand the specialized production of high-quality farm machinery for the needs of both countries but also to extend cooperation and reciprocal supplies of modern tools, units for tractors and farm machinery that guarantee raising their technical level and productivity, the use of electronic resources, new technologies and systems for automated farm equipment.

Touching on the experience gained earlier in the field of collaboration, the countries also signed specific treaties for direct industrial collaboration and cooperative supplies between the Minsk Tractor Factory and the Karlov Tractor Combine, between the Rosselmash Production Association and the Matak-Metal Combine in Tolbukhin, between the Berdyan Association for the Production of Harvesters and the G. Dimitrov Factory in Ruse, between the Scientific Production Association Pribor in the town of Aprelevka in the USSR and the Optics and Lazer Technology Combine in Plovdiv, and between Odeskholodmash and the Sofia Combine A. Ivanov.<sup>38</sup>

The joint work of scholars and specialists from the Institute of Cybernetics in the town of Stavropol and the Coordinating Council on Computerization in the Presidium of the Agricultural Academy of the PRB has been fruitful. Together, they computerized agricultural production of one of the regions in the Stavropol area. It is envisaged that a summary of the experience will be circulated in Bulgaria during 1987.<sup>39</sup>

Direct ties are also expanding in such sectors of the AIF as provision of materials and equipment. Agreements signed in May 1987 between the state committees of the

USSR and the PRB for provision of materials and equipment in the AIF envisage steps to expand integration in this sector and to establish direct ties between collectives of economic organizations and departments. A joint operating group has been created with the aim of managing direct ties.<sup>40</sup>

Within the framework of bilateral and multilateral collaboration, specialization of the brother countries in the production of equipment for the food industry will increase from 600 to 983 types from 1986 to 1990. The countries of CEMA, and in particular the USSR and the PRB, give particular attention to the development and production of systems and machines for nonwaste technologies in the meat, dairy, oil-producing and fodder industries. In this respect, the direct ties of the labor collectives of machine builders of a certain profile are a major factor.<sup>41</sup>

Some of the steps for the development of direct ties envisaged by the treaty between the Ministry of the Chemical Industry of the USSR and the Association Biotechnology and Chemical Industries of the PRB concern the first block of the AIF. Agreements have been signed for scientific, technical and production collaboration between the organization Biotekhninvest in Plovdiv and a scientific and production association Polymersintez (in the town of Vladimir). A treaty has been signed for joint development of new membrane installations for food production between the collective of the Burgas petrochemical combine and the production association Polymer in Novopoltsk, etc.<sup>42</sup> The treaty concluded between the North Caucasus Administration of Civil Aviation of the USSR and the National Agro-Industrial Union (NAIU) serves as an example of active direct ties in the chemical defence of plants. Thanks to the work of 10 Soviet teams equipped with helicopters in five okrugs of the PRB (Kurdzhali, Khaskovo, Blagoevgrad, Sofia and Kyustendil) 40 thousand hectares of vineyards and orchards were saved from diseases and pests during 1987.<sup>43</sup>

Specialization and cooperation of the brother countries of CEMA, including the USSR and the PRB, are increasing in agricultural production. Crops, from which mutual supplies of high-quality grains are achieved, will increase from 48 to 54 types from 1986 to 1989 compared with previous five-year plans. Multisector specialization and mutual use of the gene pools of the best breeds of farm animals have expanded. For example, during the current five-year plan, the countries of CEMA are supplying reciprocally about 770 pedigree bulls, 36 thousand sheep and 2.2 thousand pigs. Mutual use of progressive techniques of crop cultivation is growing. For example, during 1987 onion patches doubled in the agro-industrial combine Strelcha. This occurred thanks to the division of the high-yield Soviet variety K6 into districts. This variety was cultivated under total mechanization by Soviet technology.<sup>44</sup>

Within the framework of multilateral collaboration, scholars from the USSR and the PRB participate in research into the creation of new varieties of plants that are resistant to drought, cold and diseases, and of highly productive breeds of animals, etc.<sup>45</sup> Thanks to direct ties, between 1986 and 1990 the agricultural academies of the USSR and the PRB and their 42 research institutes and experimental stations will work jointly on 18 current subjects.<sup>46</sup>

The working meeting of the leaders of agricultural science of the countries of CEMA in June 1987 in the town of Krasnodar was an important factor in the expansion of scientific and technical collaboration in the second block. At this meeting, the positive experience of collaboration was summarized and the differences in scientific research in the countries of CEMA were outlined. The speeches given at the meeting (particularly those of the president of VASKHNIL; the vice president of the State Agro-Industrial Complex of the USSR, A. A. Nikonorov; Academician I. S. Shatilov; the President of the ASS of the PRB, Ts. Khinkovski; and the Bulgarian scholar, D. Nasev) discussed the question of uniting the forces of scholars on key problems so as to resolve production issues, to restructure international ties of agricultural academies along the path to closer integration of agricultural sciences of the brother countries. At the meeting, a Memorandum for Scientific, Technical and Production Collaboration up to the Year 2000 was adopted, which specified the ways, forms and methods of integrating the work of scholars from the countries of CEMA, of introducing the achievements of science into production, of supporting the material and technical base of agricultural science, etc. The exchange of scholars, personnel training, expansion of direct ties, and formation of international scientific, technical and production associations, centers and laboratories, and so on, must all be important factors in the achievement of the course outlined. For example, it was stipulated at the meeting that an international rice institute be created with the participation of the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Vietnam and Cuba, on the basis of the Soviet Research Institute of Rice in the town of Krasnodar.<sup>47</sup>

Based on the summarized Bulgarian experience, scholars from our countries developed and introduced into the USSR the latest technology for industrial breeding of dairy sheep; and in Bulgaria, based on Soviet experience—sheep for their meat.<sup>48</sup> Based on the experience of the AIC formed in the PRB in the Rostov oblast and the Stavropol area, two AICs were formed according to Bulgarian designs. One is based on fruit orchards (with hothouses, fruit stores and a factory to produce beverages) and the second is based on animal husbandry (with farms, cold storage facilities, and companies to produce meat and dairy products).<sup>49</sup>

Collaboration of the brother countries is expanding in the production of food products. Joint programs were adopted to improve the work of the meat and fish

industry and to develop and introduce the latest equipment, techniques, etc.<sup>50</sup> In the third block of AIF, particular attention was given to developing and introducing biotechnology processes.

Within the framework of multilateral and bilateral collaboration in the sector of food biotechnology, the USSR and the PRB reciprocally assist in the creation and introduction of the latest industrial technology for the production of traditional and modern of food products with the use of fermentations as catalysts in industries supplying preserves, meat and dairy products, alcohol, bread and pastries. Based on 11 multilateral agreements of the countries of CEMA, 13 Bulgarian and several dozen Soviet partners from 68 economic and scientific institutions of the food industry and machine building are participating to fulfill these programs. Along the path to using biotechnology, they jointly developed techniques to produce 126 new products and 14 types of equipment for their production.<sup>51</sup>

Bulgarian participants who are establishing direct ties with colleagues from similar companies and institutions specialize in the production of bacterial substances and fermentations for the meat and dairy industries. Related companies and scientific centers in the USSR and the PRB who are establishing direct ties are working together successfully to create techniques for industrial production of edible protein; new dietary, diabetic and nonalcoholic beverages; and preserved fruit products enriched with vitamins and bioactive substances.

Soviet-Bulgarian collaboration also encompasses the development of a wide range of taste additives and concentrated products, the creation of biological media for the battle against harmful microflora when preserving fruits and sugar beets, and also the technical equipment to produce them. This increases productivity. For example, the jointly developed new techniques and equipment for producing strawberry juices increased the yield of the end product by 10 to 15 percent. The specialization and cooperation outlined has generated a wide net of direct ties between similar production associations, companies and research and construction institutions.<sup>52</sup>

At the new stage of collaboration, opportunities have also expanded for those collectives of companies, AICs and cooperative farms maintained direct ties during the 1960's and 1970's on the basis of twinned areas, oblasts and rayons of the USSR and the PRB. The new favorable conditions allow a larger number of labor collectives to sign treaties to establish direct ties and expand reciprocity. They have developed specific plans of collaboration, socialist emulation, joint use of the achievements of science and technology, exchange of experience in discovering the needs of production, and opportunities to render aid. The plans include obligations to introduce the latest technology and create new types of machinery, varieties and hybrids.<sup>53</sup> The ties of companies, associations, institutes and AIC in 11 okrugs of the PRB with

oblasts in the Ukraine, of the Burgas okrug and the Krasnodar area, of the Yambol okrug and the Andzhi oblast in Uzbekistan, and many others bear witness to this.<sup>54</sup>

The need for further expansion of socialist, economic and scientific integration led in the mid 1980's to a growth of direct ties in several cases in their superior form—joint scientific and production associations (JSPA), centers and laboratories. This long-term integrated form of collaboration allows a transition towards accomplishing a uniform scientific, technical and production policy, towards its more effective use with the aim of acceleration social and economic development in the USSR and the PRB, and their industrial, material, soil, climatic and human potential. The emphasis is placed on long-term integrated forms of collaboration that involve associations of scientific, construction, and production potential along the entire cycle—science, development, production, marketing, sales. In fulfilling the agreements reached between M. S. Gorbachev and T. Zhivkov during October 1985, the first such associations in CEMA—the Soviet Bulgarian JSPA—were created in the major spheres of socialist integration: Ivanovo-MMR Sofia and Krasniy Proletariy (Moscow)-Beroe (Stara Zagora). The first experience from their work on the basis of common coordination plans, uniform scientific and production policy, specialization and cooperation in production, showed the vitality and undoubtedly advantages of joint companies, an increase in quality and productivity thanks to involvement of direct executives in the integration process and to optimal combination of people and resources.<sup>55</sup>

Summarizing the specified experience, the USSR and the PRB signed an agreement in November 1986 to organize 50 joint Soviet-Bulgarian companies and organizations.<sup>56</sup> The State Agro-Industrial Complex of the USSR and the National Agro-Industrial Union of the PRB signed an agreement to create about 30 Soviet-Bulgarian companies and associations and 20 joint research collectives in the AIF during the current five-year plan.<sup>57</sup>

Towards May 1987, dozens of joint companies, associations, scientific centers and laboratories began operations, about 40 percent of which are concerned with the AIF.<sup>58</sup> Already in operation in the first block of the AIF is the JSPA Agroavtomatika, which unites scholars and specialists from the Bulgarian factory ZENA (Tolbukhin) and the Soviet Tractor Institute (NATI), from the Soviet Institute of Farm Machinery (SIFM), from the Ukrainian Institute of Farm Machinery, and also construction offices of 10 Soviet factories that produce farm machinery. Agroavtomatika creates tests and introduces ZENA microprocessor technology for building farm machinery. The factory ZENA must provide the entire complex Soviet and Bulgarian farm machinery with electronic tools for control and administration.<sup>59</sup>

Common interests and needs led to the creation of a Soviet-Bulgarian JSPA, which involved the Moscow Production Association for Conveyors and Special Machines and the Bulgarian Combine for Metal-Cutting Machines Pobeda (Sliven). Jointly they have created computerized conveyors and metal-cutting machines for the development of rotary parts used in the building of tractors and farm machines.<sup>60</sup> At the beginning of 1987 a JSPA was formed in the sphere of microelectronics, involving the Bulgarian combine Mekhatronika (Gabrovo) and the Moscow JSPA Nauchen Tsenter. A primary task of the newly formed association is the production of special technical equipment, units, integrated circuits, and products for microelectronics.<sup>61</sup> A Soviet-Bulgarian company was also formed in Plovdiv to produce electronic automobile systems and components that save fuel and improve safety.<sup>62</sup>

Of considerable significance for farm construction is the JSPA Invest, formed during 1986 to produce integral technological conveyors and entire factories producing bricks. The Bulgarian factories that merged—Chervena Zvezda (Debelets) and Mir (Mikhaylovgrad) specialize in the production of technological lines with a capacity of 15 and 30 million bricks, and the Soviet JSPA Stroyavtoliniya (Mogil'ov)—75 million bricks.<sup>63</sup> A joint scientific and production complex is being formed that will encompass the Bulgarian association Biotechnology and Chemical Industry and a number of similar Soviet institutes and organizations.

Collaboration of scholars from the Institute of Technical Cybernetics and Robotics at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Electric Welding Paton at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, which began in 1979, has led to the formation of yet another Bulgarian-Soviet scientific unit—the laboratory Interrobotzavarka. This joint collective has as its basic aim the creation of a complex of robot technology for automatic welding production needed in the AIF.<sup>64</sup> Some of the tasks of the trade and technology center Khimmashinvest, formed between the USSR and the PRB during the summer of 1986 to produce and market chemical and petroleum products, are to establish direct ties and form joint companies in given sectors.<sup>65</sup> A Soviet-Bulgarian laboratory for new technological developments in hydraulic products has also emerged.<sup>66</sup>

The examples cited bear witness to the fact that the new long-term form of integration under discussion—joint companies—acquired distinct characteristics in the first two years and rapidly began to gain strength. It also bears witness to the emergence of a new quality in integration, to the beginning of a transition of the center of gravity of collaboration directly in labor collectives.

In the second block of the AIF—agricultural production—the first JSAs and scientific centers have also begun to emerge. A Soviet-Bulgarian production association has been formed for the hothouse production of cucumbers during the winter-spring period on 56 hectares

of covered ground, using automated systems for controlling the microclimate and complex automation and mechanization of all jobs.<sup>67</sup> JSPAs are being organized to produce fruit, flowers, and decorative plants, for selection and seed production of hybrid wheat and other cereal crops. For example, the collective of the Scientific and Production Complex (SPC) in Knezha and scholars and specialists from the Kuban have joined forces to produce new, high-yield hybrid wheat at the level of the best world standards. This joint JSPA is noted for the production of grain for seed purposes, fodder and silage, for introducing the latest technology for cultivation of these crops and for using nonwaste techniques in using wheat in the food and pharmaceutical industries.<sup>68</sup> A Soviet-Bulgarian collective has begun work on transplantation of embryos of farm animals to create a specialized pedigree herd of cows of high genetic quality from the point of view of milk and meat.<sup>69</sup>

Thanks to the successful development of direct ties between research institutes of agriculture in the USSR and the PRB, six Soviet-Bulgarian programmed scientific collectives were formed during 1986 and 1987 to study the latest directions of modern scientific and technical progress in agricultural production.<sup>70</sup>

It must be emphasized that the USSR and the PRB were first among the brother socialist countries to begin to use the new forms of integration—joint JSPA, laboratories, scientific collectives—which is an indication of the maturity of Soviet-Bulgarian bilateral ties and of their entry into a qualitatively new phase. Early experience of the above-mentioned progressive forms of integration in the new conditions shows that they have discovered additional opportunities for our countries for a more rational and complex use of existing material and human resources, opened a way for broad exchange of advanced experience and scientific and technical achievements. This allows the technical reequipment of the agro-industrial sphere and the transition towards intensive methods of production to begin, and gives scope to improvement in the quality of production, greater satisfaction of consumer demand in our countries for industrial goods and foodstuffs, assistance in improving the export base of our countries, reducing irrational imports, and increasing the competitive edge of our products in the world market. In evaluating the development of direct ties and the formation of joint JSPAs and collectives, we must conclude that they are rapidly formed wherever earlier experience was already gained in direct intrasector collaboration, chiefly in the first block of the AIF, in production of resources for production in the agricultural and food industries, and also along the line of scientific and technical collaboration in agronomy. In this respect, the second and third blocks of the AIF are falling behind.

The above-mentioned forms of reciprocity between the USSR and the PRB in the AIF are some of the clearest manifestations of the new, higher phase of collaboration and integration that was begun in the mid-1980's, of

giving life to the resolutions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the 13th Congress of the BCP and the high-level Moscow meetings of the brother countries (1984, 1986).

Establishment of direct ties and the creation of joint JSPAs and collectives expanded association incredibly, opened the way for many individuals to be directly involved in collaboration—producers, workers on similar projects, a wide circle of workers, specialists, builders, managers, and scholars from companies, JSPAs, AIC, collective farms, state farms, and scientific institutes from the AIF.

Establishment of direct ties of the above mentioned collectives was based on signed treaties of collaboration. In them, the fundamental ways and forms of reciprocity were defined: reciprocal aid in determining technical strategy, execution of joint programs of scientific and technical progress, introduction into production of goods and equipment in keeping with the best world models, execution on schedule and at high quality, without reciprocal compromises "in the name of friendship" in executing specialized cooperative supplies. The treaties envisage joint measures in research and use of advanced production experience of the partners, with the aim of achieving high-quality indexes in work (exchange of delegations of front-rankers in industry, of specialists and scholars, organization of work seminars, creation of temporary international brigades, exchange of technical information, and support of comrade relations, brotherly mutual aid and international solidarity).

Direct ties and the formation of joint Soviet-Bulgarian JSPAs and collectives have raised international socialist emulation to a qualitatively new level. The rapid process of its mass application is beginning, its multisystem applicability is growing. Emulation is being liberated from elements of administration and red tape, and is associated with the immediate tasks of increasing public productivity, being directed towards improving the qualitative indices in work, introducing personal, economic interest of the emulators along qualitative indices, towards more rapid introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and of the latest technology in the workshops, factories, farms and brigades.<sup>71</sup> Witness, for example, the experience of the international brigades, the teams of mechanics who came to Bulgaria at harvest time from the twinned regions of the Ukraine and Northern Caucasus, and the Bulgarians who went to the USSR.<sup>72</sup>

The treaties of direct ties include formulations for international emulation, for resolving social and cultural problems, and for expanding collaboration among labor collectives.<sup>73</sup> The role of social, intellectual and human factors in the expansion of this international reciprocity and rapprochement of workers, of all those who work in the AIF has been increased. Under the conditions of

mass application of direct production ties, new, unprecedented reserves and spheres were discovered of intensifying the work of members of union organizations in the agricultural and food industries, of workers from Gosagroproma in the USSR, of the Society for Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship and the Committee for Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, which have their organizations in all companies, in AICs, in state farms, etc. For example, the Committees for Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship actively assist 1,510 labor and scientific collectives, maintaining direct ties with 2,020 similar Soviet collectives to fulfill the treaties for development of direct ties and for international socialist emulation.<sup>74</sup> The primary union organizations of these labor collectives assist in summarizing and circulating the advanced experience in production, valuable initiatives to improve the efficacy of their reciprocity. They create favorable conditions for workers' initiatives to emerge for successful fulfillment of the obligations accepted, for expanding comrade ties, association and spiritual proximity among labor collectives. Speaking at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev emphasized that the CPSU attaches increasingly greater significance to life and wider association of the citizens of socialist countries, so that this is a source of mutual intellectual enrichment, a way towards an exchange of thoughts, ideas, and experience from socialist construction.<sup>75</sup>

The development of direct ties of the companies and institutions of the former stages of Soviet-Bulgarian reciprocity showed the results of this form, gave valuable experience and, in the new conditions, has become a distinctive feature of the current phase of collaboration, an important step in the expansion of socialist economic integration, specialization and cooperation in production in the agro-industrial sphere of the USSR and the PRB, in international reciprocity of the labor collectives, and in the social and cultural association and rapprochement of our brother countries.

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**Effects of Restructuring, Decentralization**  
*22000001 Sofia IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT*  
*in Bulgarian 24 Aug 88 pp 1, 11*

[Article by Dimcho Dimov: "Controls' New Role"]

[Text] The overall restructuring of the economic area depends on radical changes in everyone's work style and methods. This change is possible only if one of the most important conditions is met: a new economic thinking on the part of managers and individual members of labor collectives. The sober assessment of the situation leads to the conclusion that, for the time being, in some areas preference is given to waiting for results instead of making changes in the style and content of our practical work. Such a view directly indicates, no more and no less... a lack of view.

**Permanent and Preventive**

A major prerequisite for successful work in all areas of the national economic complex in our country is for the state and people's control authorities to restructure their further activities under contemporary conditions.

Essentially, this problem is organically "built in" as an element of the economic mechanism. At the present stage as well the most important guiding rule in the activities of the control authorities may be found in the concept expressed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, to the effect that control must be "permanent, comprehensive, competent and, above all, preventive." It would be an error if decentralization, which is taking place in the management of the economic and spiritual areas, is not made consistent with the fact that preventive control should be able, above all, to ensure prompt and proper relations among individual units and sectors in the base and the superstructure.

In self-management, in addition to the traditional problems on which the state and people's control authorities have been working for many years, priority will be given to a number of new and responsible obligations. First among them is that of managing the assigned property, ensuring the maximal utilization of the assigned machines and equipment, finding reserves and additional opportunities. Achieving particularly high economic results out of any type of production activities becomes inconceivable without the accelerated practical application of the latest scientific and technical accomplishments and without the enhancement of mass technical creativity by the working people.

Naturally, in the future as well problems related to the new role of the collective management authorities, the stabilization and skills of the manpower, prices and price setting, the efficient use of capital and some problems related to the social development of the labor collectives will remain targets of activities of the control authorities. Particular attention will be paid to contracts and contractual relations as a means of establishing a new type of

economic relationship. That is why a separate section of the Regulation on Economic Activities stipulates that "the state controlling authorities will conduct investigations and seek responsibility for nonconclusion and nonimplementation of contracts."

The possibilities of the enterprise depend to the greatest extent on the efficient utilization and application of personal and borrowed funds. In this respect the approach taken in many areas is quite timid, indecisive, particularly when it comes to borrowing funds. Obeying the old and clashing with the new style of economic thinking, many managers would rather do somehow with the enterprise's available funds, quite unjustifiably ignoring the possibility of borrowing funds.

**The Municipal Level**

The municipal state and people's control committee will be the main assault unit in the control system following the organization of the new territorial units in the country. Let us see which are the most important aspects in the organization of its activities, both today and in the future. Before doing that, however, we must answer the following question: Would the strength and range of competence of this authority be adequate to cope with the wide spectrum of new problems? In my view, given its current place and role in local management and its current state of cadres and work style, the answer would be negative.

Above all, as in the past, the municipal state and people's control committee remains in a certain sense, as in the past, in an unequal position concerning the municipal people's council. Secondly, its cadre and financial possibilities are, to say the least, limited if it is to engage in a truly profound, scientific, systematic and analytical preventive control activity. It is true that the committee's independence has been legally codified. Practical experience, however, indicates that something leaves to be desired in this respect. Essentially both the municipal people's council and the municipal committee for state and people's control (which, among others, relies entirely on the former as far as funds are concerned) are the legal representatives of the state and work under the direct leadership of the municipal party committee and its superior authorities. However, the functions of these two authorities are quite different and it would be erroneous to make one of them dependent on the other. This is not paradoxical in the least, for we must not forget that the decentralization of the management of economic and spiritual activities demands the decentralization of control activities precisely in order to protect the state interests, the interests of the entire society.

It would be unnecessary to substantiate at length the need for increased attention to cadre stabilization and the organization of activities on a new level of each municipal committee for state and people's control. On the one hand, its team is the closest to the problems on which the municipality is working and, on the other, it is

the direct representative of the state, authorized to impose penalties or to suggest to the superior committee penalties to be imposed. Nor is self-management excluded in the future, granting extensive rights to economic organizations and enterprises to be considered by some as a favorable opportunity for restricting economic results within the limits consistent with enterprise interests. The experience of municipalities such as those of Kostenets, Gorna Malina, Tervel and others has indicated the possibility of such a disparity between the interests of the enterprise and those of the state. As a phenomenon of our economic life, "self-limitation" is well known but should not be allowed to occur in the future.

For the time being, we are relying a great deal on the people's control commissions. A great deal has been accomplished thanks to their efforts. The future, however, calls for the choice of the members of the respective commissions to be consistent not with the quantitative indicator but, essentially, the need for the adoption of a competent approach and intellectualization of control activities.

#### Contemporary Forms

I think that we must advance toward a new style and new forms of control work. This trend requires, first of all, that all municipal committees for state and people's control be staffed by specialists who are competent in the problems of the various economic sectors. Second, to formulate a concept of the approach to the targets of their control. The grading of control initiatives according to the importance of the problems is nothing new. However, neither is the fact that very little is being done in the field of preventive control. Investigation remains a tried instrument. I do not reject it but, understood in its classical sense, it is the instrument of control after the fact.

That is why the extensive use of the "classical" form of investigation should be considered an obsolete stage if we insist that the time has come when a lost opportunity is as reprehensible as the harm that was caused. In this sense, in the future the planned tasks of the individual enterprise or economic organization, with all existing internal reserves, will be objects of preliminary investigation, study, conclusions, prescriptions and penalties (or rewards). The specialists alone should be competent to identify the entire set of possibilities and reserves for production activities, as they would be able to provide an overall technical and economic study of the enterprise's condition. To this effect they should integrate with more or less closely related control authorities in order to participate in solving problems applicable to the entire area.

The dynamics of our development presumes reaching in the immediate future a new level in the matter of unity of action among our different control authorities. I share

the view that control authorities, which are quite numerous, frequently function on the basis of the "everyone for himself" principle. Quite controversial is the question of whether in the future we could expect high efficiency in the work of specialized and internal departmental control authorities, whose activities and remarks frequently clash with the interests of their own employers. Is such a situation normal? In my view, it is not. If everyone continues to work "for himself," the problems will once again be considered on an isolated basis. There will be no comprehensive approach and this would not serve at all the intensification of control activities.

The new attitude toward the major tasks of our development will not ignore the problems of control. Today, however, its role must be changed substantially. Increasingly, the main objective must be not violations which have been recorded, proven cases of theft or cases of irresponsibility and abuse but identifying unused opportunities, stimulating initiative within the framework of the laws and economic risk, and preventive intervention in arising problems. This, in my view, is the way, suitably "illuminated" by legal rights and responsibilities, which will raise control to the level of an efficient factor in the qualitatively new growth of the economy.

05003

#### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

##### Production Figures for 1988 Potato Harvest Detailed

23000015a East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN  
in German No 101, 30 Aug 88 p 6

[GDR Council of Ministers' Bulletin: "Figures and Facts—All About the Potato"]

[Text] Nearly 442,000 hectares—a good 9 percent of our country's arable land area—was planted with potatoes this year. The early potatoes have already been harvested. Cooperative farmers and agricultural workers, along with their cooperative partners, are doing their utmost to obtain the highest yields of good-quality tubers from every hectare, and to store them, prepare them, and make them available for public supply. About 23 percent of the annual production is eating potatoes, 15 percent is used for seed potatoes, 5 percent goes into starch production, and 1 percent is processed further. Some 56 percent of the harvest is used for livestock feed.

In the GDR, the eating potato is among the most important basic foodstuffs. Per capita consumption is approximately 150 kg annually. Nutritionally, potatoes are of great value. In the GDR, they supply 6 percent of an adult's energy requirement and 7.5 percent of the protein requirement. The great biological value of tuber protein is noteworthy. About 800,000 tons of the annual production is stored in households. Some 750,000 tons are accommodated in intermediate storage in agriculture and in retail trade. These, then, are put on market

shelves in bags of 5 or 2.5 kg, or are supplied to bulk purchasers in 20 kg bags. Approximately 250,000 tons of peeled potatoes are currently provided to institutional kitchens.

In close alliance with scientists, farmers are making great efforts to increase potato production. They are employing such effective methods as the standard row plowing method whereby the tillable field surface is divided into a growing area and a vehicle access area, as well as seed dressing. About 40 percent of the potato varieties were officially introduced in the last 5 years. Last but not least, scientific management from planting through harvest has also proved itself in potato cultivation.

On the average, there are over 10 million tons of potatoes to be harvested, transported, sorted, stored, and processed each year. In all this, the quality of the tubers is a main point of emphasis which receives great attention in the overall supply chain from field to consumers. Careful handling is especially important. The best potatoes are selected for consumption and home and long-term storage. For this purpose, numerous evaluations of the degree of maturity and quality are made in the fields. These assessments provide information about future use as eating, seed, starch production, processing, or feed potatoes. In the Halle Consumer Potato Cooperative Association, for example, modern scientific-technical knowledge is used for the thorough-going maintenance of quality, and the practical experience gained in the process is systematically disseminated in consultation meetings. So-called customer conferences of the agricultural production cooperatives and collective farms with collectives in the processing, storage and marketing facilities as well as in retail trade, have also proved themselves as serving to ensure quality.

The GDR's six potato starch factories produce about 80,000 tons of starch annually. Some 270 agricultural production cooperatives and collective farms in the northern and central Bezirke supply potatoes for this purpose on a contractual basis. The starch content grows with increasing maturity. The starch is used in the food industry, for example in the form of potato flour, but in other areas of the national economy as well, where it is needed for about 1,400 products. Among these are color fixing agents and auxiliary materials in the paper and textile industries.

Each year 140,000 tons of eating potatoes are made available for further processing. Included in the range of products from the processing enterprises are various varieties of dumpling meal, potato cake flour, puree, dumplings, French fries and potato balls, as well as chips and snacks. The quality of these products is dependent not only on the production process and production technology, but also on the raw material used. Thus, the solid matter, starch, and sugar content, the raw and cooked potatoes' tendency to discolor, and the eating quality of a variety principally determine the quality of

the final product. Laboratory tests to determine suitability for the production of refined products are conducted on behalf of the Office of Variety Classification in the Potato Processing Industry Center at VEB Kattro Halldensleben. For example, varieties especially high in starch content—that is, mealy types—are preferred for puree.

More than half of a year's potato harvest is used as livestock feed. One deciton of pork can be produced with a 20-deciton energy equivalent. For feeding purposes, the tubers are steamed immediately or fed later in the form of silage. Freshly steamed potatoes are offered to the animals as long as possible—right into the winter. Potatoes that are to be fed in the spring and up to the following harvest have to be preserved. The nutritional value of fodder is higher for steamed potato silage than for fodder processed raw. A further qualitative improvement can be obtained if the steamed mash is preserved together with protein-rich green fodder, such as beet greens, clover, alfalfa, or summer intercrops. This silage is used primarily for the maintenance of piglets and females with young.

13238

#### Growing Conditions, Preparations for 1988 Sugar Beet Harvest

23000015b East Berlin FELDWIRTSCHAFT in German Vol 29 No 9, Sep 88 pp 387-88

[Article by Prof Dr J. Oehme, director of the GDR Academy of Sciences' Klein Wanzeben Institute for Beet Research; and Dr H. Schwarz, Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry, and Foodstuffs: "Rising Sugar Beet Yields—An Important Contribution to the Implementation of the Resolutions of the 11th SED Party Congress and of the 13th GDR Farmers Congress"]

[Text] The increase and stabilization of sugar beet yields is of particular importance in the context of continued priority growth of crop production as resolved by the 11th SED Party Congress and the 13th GDR Farmers Congress. There are numerous reasons for this. The steady provision of sugar and sugar products for public consumption in accordance with the plan must be ensured year after year and under all circumstances. The provision of sugar and molasses to many branches of industry is an important contribution to the supply of raw materials from domestic agriculture. Sugar beets, beet chips, and beet greens have high priority in the supply of fodder for livestock herds. Ultimately, the level of total crop production is decisively influenced by the beet and beet green yields as a whole.

This importance to the national economy requires that the efforts to rapidly increase per-hectare yields must be further strengthened. Although average yields were increased to approximately 350 decitons/hectare (dt/ha) in 1986 and 1987, we are still far away from the goal

established by the 11th Party Congress of increasing sugar beet yields to 370-390 dt/ha by 1990. The projected 1988 yields will also confirm this assessment.

#### Conditions for the 1988 Harvest

With the fall tilling, seed-bed preparation, and sowing, better preconditions for increasing sugar beet yields were created in all Bezirke this year than in previous years. The results of the efforts of the agricultural cooperatives' farmers and workers, which were materially aided by the consultations at the March seminar in Leipzig with leading cadre members and experts, were considerably reduced by the effects of the weather. The late frosts in April and the subsequent drought through early June also had major negative effects on sugar beets.

More than 29,000 hectares (ha) of sugar beets had to be plowed under. Replanting in time was not possible in all cases, so that of the 210,200 ha of arable land planned for sugar production, there is a shortfall of 12,000 ha. In wide areas a portion of the young beet plants were frozen at the 2- to 4-leaf stage. Field stand density is, therefore, not promising.

Only about 40 percent of the cultivated area has more than 70,000 plants/hectare (pl/ha). On approximately 32 percent of the area there are 60-70,000 pl/ha, and less than 60,000 pl/ha are tallied on about 28 percent of the area. Additionally, the beets have germinated and developed at differing rates, and distribution within the row is frequently very unfavorable. Beet plants with underdeveloped bodies stand next to beets of large individual mass. Late weed infestation, heavy leaf loss, and mildew appeared and required numerous control measures.

The majority of agricultural production cooperatives (LPG) and collective farms (VEG) eliminated the late weeds with extensive use of hand labor and thereby created good preconditions for a harvest with few losses. A number of consequences relating to the continued preparations for, and conduct of, the harvest result from this situation. They are to be thoroughly discussed in the Bezirke and Kreise in common with the cooperative associations and with the support of the sugar industry's agricultural information service using the individual situation as a basis for discussion.

#### Prepare Well for the Harvest

The most important requirement is for every harvesting collective to prepare in advance for the lowest possible harvesting losses. It will be necessary to buy up all sugar beets, even those planted for fodder, for sugar production purposes. Supplementary purchasing cannot be avoided in order to fulfill the state quota for sugar beets as a whole and to ensure the planned production of white sugar.

This approach should be universally observed in the formulation of, and consultations concerning, harvest scheduling plans. In the process, it is particularly important that everyone participating in the harvest be made thoroughly familiar with his tasks and that the sequence of fields to be harvested be established. Those areas should be cleared first which, in accordance with the crop rotation sequence, are to be planted with winter wheat. Well developed and healthy stands should be harvested last if at all possible because they ensure the best increase in yield. Such decisions require that in every LPG and VEG each field be accurately assessed in early September. Precise knowledge of the conditions specific to each field is also essential in order to be able to determine the necessary measures for the lowest loss of beets and beet greens. These measures to reduce losses will often differ from field to field. Equally as much, good preparation includes clearing meadowland and cuttings and deciding from which fields the beet greens are to be silaged together with chopped forage straw.

#### Lowest Possible Crop Losses and Economical Use of Manpower

High yields, the lowest possible losses, and the economical use of manpower should be stressed in the daily management of socialist competition. That requires employing—more efficiently than in previous years—an optimal harvesting procedure for the process to be undertaken, from quality maintenance of harvesting equipment, to the formation of suitable harvesting complex sizes, a sufficient assignment of transport capacity, and proper storage of the beets.

Proper inspection and adjustment of the topping and lifting loaders play an especially important role in this. In the case of the topping loader, attention must be paid to the spacing between the blade and the roller-feeler, the adjustment of the feeler pressure according to the various beet stands, and constantly sharp and unbent blades must be ensured; these conditions must be checked several times per day. In the case of the KS-6, the proper adjustment of the lifting wheels in accordance with beet size and the lowering of the transport rollers are especially important. In many fields a greater flow of soil on the conveyer chain will be associated with this, which can necessitate additional cleaning components in the lifting loader.

Under the leadership of the ministry, instructions and recommendations for the proper adjustment and operation of harvesting equipment for this year's conditions were developed jointly with the Schlieben Research Center for Mechanization and Energy Use, the Institute for Beet Research, and the National Sugar Combine, which were provided in August to all LPG's and VEG's as well as to the Bezirk and Kreis councils. The training and briefing of harvesting complex leaders and mechanics are to be undertaken on the basis of these instructions.

A qualified cadre member, who actively influences the adjustment and operation of harvesting equipment for the purpose of lowering crop losses, must be employed in each harvesting complex as a waste control and quality inspector. Prompt gleaning of all beet fields is also an integral component of the efforts for a waste-free harvest.

#### Good Fall Soil Preparation for Increasing Yields in 1989

Above all, the question of how to markedly increase sugar beet yields is answered convincingly by the LPG's and VEG's that have been achieving high yields for years. Among these are the LPG's Bottmersdorf, Rade, Hassenhausen, Striegnitz, Jahna, Langenweddingen, Burkhardswalde, and others which have repeatedly harvested more than 500 dt/ha. Also among these are such Kreise as Wanzleben, Wolmirstedt, Meissen, Hoehnmoelsen, Merseburg, Querfurt, Jessen, Bautzen, Bad Langensalza, and Erfurt Rural, in which average yields between 400 and 500 dt/ha have repeatedly been attained.

Their experiences attest that, for increasing sugar beet yields, the following broad conclusions must be more systematically put into practice:

- Extensive application of scientific-technical advances;
- Vigorous improvement of soil fertility and maintenance of agricultural discipline;
- Consistent application of production procedures in accordance with scientific recommendations.

This is also confirmed by the results of years of production experiments conducted by the Institute for Beet Research and by the fields producing maximum yields in many LPG's and VEG's under varying local conditions. In this, planning for maximum yields, which involves field and crop rotation practices, proves to be the proper management tool provided that the measures drawn up under these plans are efficiently implemented and the results obtained are thoroughly analyzed. That is the real management problem, especially in the 178 LPG's and VEG's that were stilling obtaining less than 300 dt/ha. Therefore, the issue during the 1988 fall soil preparations is to create conditions for the attainment of a marked increase in sugar beet yields in the coming year and for a substantial reduction in the unwarranted discrepancy in the level of crop yields. Certain aspects are especially important in this regard:

- In the first place, providing sufficient organic material to all sugar beet fields must be stressed within the context of scientific soil and crop management. The LPG Bottmersdorf and other enterprises attain their high yields by spreading dung at the rate of about 500 dt/ha. This year, those LPG's and VEG's that, in order to alleviate the shortfall in fodder crop yields, purposely planted leguminosae as a stubble crop on

fields earmarked for sugar beets immediately after the grain harvest, acted correctly. Optimal fertilizing with lime, potash, and phosphorus, as well as with micro-nutrients according to the soil fertility indices, and proper fall furrowing are other fundamental requirements which must be mastered better in many locations.

- Now as before, progress in observing the 4-year planting hiatus has not been sufficient. This is especially true for a number of LPG's and VEG's in Magdeburg, Halle, Leipzig, Erfurt, and Neubrandenburg Bezirke. In this case, it is a matter of crop reserves which amount to up to 30 percent. Changing such crop rotation practices in the direction of better scientific methods and crop production is urgently needed. Within the context of crop rotation, greater attention must also be paid to the elimination of soil compaction. This should be carried out 2 years prior to planting sugar beets if at all possible.
- Good progress has been made in the application of procedures which preserve the soil. Taking varying conditions into account, coarse levelling of fall plowing and the application of standard row plowing, fall dam construction, and seed row draining procedures—which have previously been described on numerous occasions in FELDWIRTSCHAFT—have proven to be especially effective. It is important to continue to expand their usage in order to better separate vehicle access and growing areas and to create favorable sprouting conditions for sugar beets in the spring.

#### Prepare for Early Planting in 1989

An important lesson learned from previous years is to plant sugar beets as early as possible—in late March or early April. In the spring of 1988 this approach again proved itself. The beet seeds drilled in March had adequate soil moisture, underwent rapid early development, and were less susceptible to the late frosts and presummer drought. This effect is particularly important in the case of pelleted seed, which requires higher soil moisture than untreated seed for rapid germination and sprouting. Consequently, seed bed preparation should be done in one single operation if at all feasible and the bed should be as level as possible. There have been only a few days in late March with favorable conditions for seed bed preparation and planting in recent years. It is important to utilize them with maximum efficiency for sugar beet cultivation.

The additional yield that can be obtained through this extension of the rowing period can be estimated at 3-5 dt/ha per day. The experiments with planting times, conducted over a number of years by the Kleinwanzleben Institute for Beet Research, also confirm this.

The new varieties, characterized by higher yields and/or higher sucrose content, are widely available for the 1989 planting, although not all wishes could be fulfilled in this regard. The varieties in question are "Depola,"

"Trikamo," "Ponesa," and "Akzenta." It is important for the management cadre in the LPG's and VEG's to know precisely the characteristics of the varieties and to take operating conditions into account when selecting the varieties. In addition, in 1989 for the first time all sugar beet seed will be supplied by VEB Seed and Plant Sets in pellet form.

Strict management and organization of cultivation work have proven to be essential logical conclusions for the process of increasing per-hectare yields. This phase of sugar beet production is an important element of management. The critical issue is to conclude area allotment, the second mechanized hoeing, and the second application of nitrogen under all circumstances by the end of May—*independent* of the time of planting. In this case as well, time savings prove to be yield gains because the early development of the sugar beet plants is accelerated and closed stands are achieved by the middle of June. And this is a condition for high yields. Thus, completion of the cited cultivation work by the end of May must be universally regarded as an especially important point of emphasis for management.

Special attention should be paid to these key points when analyzing the results of 1988 sugar beet production in specialist groups, in LPG and VEG management boards and administrations, as well as in the cooperative associations, for the purpose of achieving a higher level of efficiency in applying the relevant planning for the attainment of maximum overall yields and rising per-hectare yields.

13238

**Former Mining Regions Reclaimed for Agricultural, Recreational Use**  
*23000018 East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 106, 9 Sep 88 p 6*

[Text] Since 1965 an acreage totaling 65,000 hectares, formerly used in the mining of lignite, has been taken out of production and put to other uses. In order to continue mining this important indigenous raw material, it was—and still is—necessary to relocate the industrial enterprises, streets and riverways, and small towns located in the bezirks of Cottbus, Leipzig, Halle and Dresden. This pertains as well to agriculturally productive acreage and timber producing areas which must make way for further mining operations.

In the last year alone, in the process of mining 308.7 million tons of lignite from the 39 open-pit mines and exploratory strip-mines, men and machines have moved over 1.3 billion cubic meters of overburden and have pumped out more than 1.6 billion cubic meters of water. In 1988 the task is to mine 317.2 million tons of lignite.

After closing down mining operations, it becomes the responsibility of the collectives in both the Senftenberg and Bitterfeld Lignite Combines to compensate for the

unavoidable scars left on the landscape. In carrying out this responsibility, they work from the outset together with the bezirk and kreis councils, with the resident industrial and agricultural enterprises, and with scientific establishments as well. So far, an acreage totaling 51,000 hectares previously used for lignite mining has been reclaimed and the respective territories have been returned to use.

In the past year, 1,889 hectares of acreage reclaimed from mining were turned over to the subsequent users in agriculture, forestry, water and fish management, and recreation management. Thus, in 1987 the state's quota, which envisioned a return of 1,429 hectares, has already been surpassed, just as in previous years.

The socialist state guarantees by law that any land claimed for mining purposes shall include only such acreage as is absolutely necessary, and for a limited time only, allowing this land to be reclaimed as quickly as possible. On the basis of the mining law, the reclamation ordinance, and the laws governing the local civic representations and their respective investments, all necessary work is coordinated with the bezirk leadership; plans are made on a long-term basis and are carried out systematically. The goal is to redevelop the subsequently reclaimed land so that it meets the needs of both the community and the individual citizens. In this way, each year the lignite combines even manage to get a head start on the job of land reclamation.

Over the past 20 years the joint efforts of project planners and scientists in the lignite industry, in the VEB Combine for geological Research and Exploration in Halle, in the GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences, in the Humboldt University, Berlin and in the Freiberg Mining Academy have paid off in terms of improving the process used to reclaim land in former mining regions. Special equipment and efficient technological solutions have been jointly developed.

This scientific-technological cooperation is concentrated on solving several problems. In achieving a high standard for land reclamation, unique approaches are demanded owing to the territorially differentiated structure of the rock strata overlying the seams of lignite, and the various types of equipment used in the mining operations. A further task requiring thorough research and proper procedures is the process of preventing landslides on the remaining slopes. In addition, scientists and technicians are working on ways to speed up the return of such residual open-pit mines as Geiseltal and Berzdorf. Owing to various factors, the necessary landfill is missing here. Prior investigation into economically beneficial land use alternatives as a focal point for this combined scientific effort based on the bezirk councils' existing recommendations for land reclamation in former mining regions. Thus, the primary concern here

centers on creating the greatest possible acreage for agricultural use and forestry management, and for turning open-pit mines into either water reservoirs or fish ponds.

In their current effort to reclaim acreage formerly used for mining operations, the Senftenberg and Bitterfeld VE Lignite Combines spend 60 million marks annually. Not included in this sum are the extra expenses incurred by these combines for selective acquisition of fill dirt and dumping operations. In 1987, a total acreage of 460 hectares above plan were put back into use.

Since 1965, almost 15,800 hectares of agricultural land have been reclaimed from former mining regions. For example, the LPG Lohsa Farmers' cooperative in Cottbus Bezirk is cultivating an acreage of 725 hectares from which coal had once been excavated. These acreages were reclaimed by the Glueckauf Lignite Works.

Today, the Senftenberg Lake in Cottbus Bezirk with its 1,300 hectares of water surface and the Kulkwitzer Lake in Leipzig Bezirk with a water surface of 160 hectares, like other former mining sites, have become attractive near by recreational areas. Since 1965, a total acreage of almost 23,000 hectares has been reclaimed for forestry as well.

## POLAND

### Enterprise Cooperation With Soviets Lags Behind Intended Aims

26000001 Warsaw POLITYKA-EKSPORT-IMPORT  
No 13, 2 July 88 pp 17-18

[Article by Jerzy Baczyński: "The Top Has Outdistanced the Bottom"]

[Text] The USSR commercial counsellor in Poland, Georgiy Shchukin, was interviewed recently by EKONOMICZESKAYA GAZIETA. The counsellor did not refrain from criticizing both trading partners. He talked about chronic delays in deliveries, administrative and organizational stagnation, the absence of legal and financial solutions, the danger of "discrediting border exchange before it even begins," etc. And about direct cooperation between enterprises of both countries, which has been promoted of late, he had this to say: "Of almost 250 pairs of enterprises participating in direct cooperation on the basis of agreements, only a few dozen have begun operations. Approximately 50 pairs have turned out to be partners only by chance and have no potential, and we have reported this fact to the ministries which 'designated' them."

A few weeks later I had the opportunity to hear Minister Zdzisław Kurowski, the government's representative on matters of cooperation and joint enterprises. His opinion was almost identical: In general, economic relations between Poland and the USSR are developing very well, but in their traditional form. However, it is important to

the authorities of both countries that direct economic relations be established without recourse to the government and the ministries. "Unfortunately, I am not satisfied with what we have been able to achieve thus far," said the minister, confirming the words of the counsellor. This time, very clearly, the "top has outdistanced than the bottom." Which, in any case, could have been predicted.

### Space for Growth

For several years now, during all of the high-level Polish-Soviet economic talks, it has been said that we must "move to a new stage of mutual relations and seek new forms of cooperation." That is how the ideas of border exchange, joint enterprises, USSR participation in completing many Polish investments, direct cooperation between production plants, etc., came about. With some simplification, the intention was this: Instead of limiting ourselves simply to the implementation of protocols on exchange, let us begin to do business. Yes, but where do we begin? The answer was in accord with the traditions of mutual relations: We must conclude intergovernmental agreements.

On 15 October 1986 in Warsaw, premiers Messner and Ryzhkov signed the appropriate documents which set forth the rules for establishing joint enterprises and direct production and scientific-technical cooperation between enterprises and organizations of both countries. Attached to the agreements were annexes which listed the enterprises selected by the governments to do business. Undoubtedly, the specialists who prepared the agreements knew that they were allowing space for growth. Possibly this was a deliberate experiment: Let us try to do something and we will see what the obstacles are. I do not think that either side really believed that documents which were signed would be produce much action.

The agreements themselves embodied some defects in logic, ensuing from the present stage of transformations occurring in both countries and their mutual relations. It was important that the directive and economic elements be connected. On the one hand, enterprises were selected and directed to cooperate, while on the other hand it was stated that in practice, economic cost-effectiveness and the interests of the partners must be the deciding factors. In other words, bring pressure to bear but do not force. Zdzisław Kurowski said: The law on enterprises permits the assignment of tasks ensuing from interstate agreements, but on condition that the appropriate conditions are created for the enterprises to execute these tasks. Pressure which carries conditions is no longer pressure. Therefore, of the several joint enterprises which were planned, only one has been formed, and in many cases direct cooperation is merely symbolic.

Of course, it is easy to criticize an agreement which has been signed, but it should be remembered that in mutual economic relations this was a big breakthrough. Direct

cooperation between Polish and USSR enterprises has been talked about for decades. Here and there it was even a fact. As a rule, the connections between the Warsaw tool combine, Swierczewski-Vis and the Moscow factory, Kalibr, were cited as a crowning example. Both plants established contact way back in the 1960's, and the cooperation, loudly publicized, consisted primarily of exchanging party, union and youth delegations, and vacationing groups. One of the participants in these trips said that it "was very nice, especially before the prohibitions were introduced: there were barbecues and an exchange of gifts. As a rule, there was no talk about production because actually, it was not known what was secret and what was not..."

The October 1986 agreement created a new situation. The right to establish direct cooperation with Soviet economic organizations was granted to all Polish economic organizations. All it took was to find a partner and sign an agreement according to the prepared example. The enterprises could independently decide whether an exchange of goods and services is to take place on the basis of commercial contracts or according to noncommercial procedures (without the need to obtain export and import permits, according to contractual prices, under simplified customs handling). If they decided on commercial sales, they could take advantage of foreign-trade intermediaries, or operate independently on the basis of a license. According to noncommercial rules, it is recommended that low-value materials and parts, samples, prototypes, laboratory and measurement apparatus, etc., be exchanged. For statistical purposes, agreements on direct cooperation should be submitted for registration with the Foreign Trade Computer Center and this is really the only requirement for the agreement between enterprises to go into effect.

#### Pair After Pair

During the first few months after the signing of an intergovernmental contract, agreements on direct cooperation were concluded by over 200 pairs of Polish and USSR enterprises. In general, it may be said only that the forms of this cooperation, their economic importance, and the partner's degree of commitment, varies greatly. Most often there is an exchange of experience, documentation and coproduction production, in exchange for delivery of means of manufacture. Despite the conducive climate and good will of the partners, in most cases the scope of this cooperation is quite narrow. Let us look at a few characteristic examples. The first is:

#### **The Warsaw Pump Factory (WPF) and the Nasos-Energomasz Plants in Sumy in the Ukraine**

The contract is in effect to 1995, but right now the concrete program extends to 1990 and covers four subjects. It pertains to mutual production and deliveries of subassemblies for selected pumps. An exchange of parts, at the wish of the Soviet side, takes place according to the contract, i.e., according to normal commercial rules.

"Actually," says Tadeusz Grochowski, WPF director, "this is not production cooperation but ordinary coproduction sales. Furthermore, it is strictly accounted for on the basis of a small bilateral clearing."

During the 1970's, thanks to the import of equipment and technology from the West, WPF reached a relatively high technical level. It is this which interested the Soviet partner, who for many years had rather limited contacts with the world market. We, on the other hand, were interested primarily in the research and production potential of the factory in Sumy. This is a plant which is five times larger (from the standpoint of employment) than the Warsaw factory, and its research-and-development center employs approximately 700 people (compared to 50 in WPF). Furthermore, the Sumy factory is almost self-sufficient—it produces most of the component parts of the pumps, while WPF has to depend on irregular deliveries from the outside. That is why WPF looks avidly on such items as the molybdenum alloys and other castings produced in Sumy. Unfortunately, both partners, despite their mutual friendship and interest, are not very well matched to each other.

Let us omit the question of geographical distance (because of transportation difficulties, a trip to a partner takes almost 2 days) and the difference in the size of the enterprises. The important obstacle is the disparity in systems. For the Soviet partner, which functions in an orders-directive system, there is really no problem of obtaining money. If a task was written into the plan and approved by the ministry, the money must be made available. Our friends in the Ukraine do not always understand that our factory is self-financing and may not have money for development.

"In our country," says director Grochowski, "we are dealing with a conservative economy, one which is aimed at survival. In their country, a strong thrust forward and concentration of resources are possible. On the other hand, the scope of independence of decisions made by the management of an enterprise in Poland is incomparably larger. Formally, we may be more efficient, but in practice this advantage is cancelled out by the lack of financial resources and problems in obtaining supplies. That is what the activities of the management of a Polish enterprise are concentrated on, and matters of new technologies or products are secondary. We are occupied with reform, while they quietly, and according to plan, do their thing. That is why the attractiveness of WPF to the Soviet partner may be increasingly smaller in the future." (Especially since inflation is consuming the enterprise's funds and makes it difficult to conduct a considered developmental policy.)

#### **Warsaw Photochemical Plants Foton and Tasma Plants in Kazan in the Autonomous Tartar Republic**

Again: difference in size (we have 750 employees, they have 10,000) and the technologies applied (Foton operates on the British Ilford license, while in Kazan the basic machinery comes from Japan).

The initiator of this cooperation was our (now dissolved) Ministry of Chemical Industry. The idea was that cellulose triacetate for the production of an X-ray film base be imported for the Gorzow Stilon Factory, in exchange for which the Warsaw Foton will deliver the Soviet partner semifinished X-ray film made from that base in Gorzow. Thanks to this, both parties could reduce foreign-exchange import. In addition to this arrangement, sales of Polish film to the USSR would really be impossible, because they include a "foreign-exchange input," and there is an unwritten rule in effect between Polish and Soviet firms that there will be no trade in goods for which foreign-exchange import is essential. (Of course, there are also some exceptions to this rule.)

In Foton, the primary barrier to the development of direct cooperation between the enterprises of both countries is the inconvertibility of the currency. Money is only an imperfect accounts-settlement instrument. A natural exchange is in effect—goods for goods (so many square meters of film for a ton of triacetate). Is this what direct cooperation between enterprises is supposed to consist of? In the case of Foton and the factory in Kazan, the origin of such possible cooperation is the non-currency exchange of specialists—25 persons a year. The specialists discuss how best to use the equipment which both sides possess and how to introduce computerization. But the path from an exchange of experience (which, traditionally, is what we do best) to closer production ties is still long, and often does not exist at all.

#### **Polfa-Tarchomin and Bielmied-Preparaty Association in Minsk**

The connection was made at the desire and initiative of the government. Both firms are conducting joint research on increasing the production of insulin and improving its purity. The subjects have been divided, both sides finance the research out of their own funds, and the results will be exchanged in return for payment. In addition (according to the goods-for-goods rule) some semiproducts for the production of antibiotics are exchanged. There will also be a noncurrency exchange of employee groups (for rest and recreation purposes).

Director Anesz from Polfa has no difficulty in imagining different kinds of business with the Soviet partner, if someone will tell him to how to convert rubles, zlotys and dollars. In our country, a dollar is worth approximately twice as much as a ruble. In the Soviet Union it is just the opposite. Therefore, there is no common denominator for calculating costs and profits on both sides. That is why, for the time being, an exchange of raw materials, with no talk about money, appears to be most promising.

#### **Ariadna Thread Factory in Widzow and Czerwona Nic [Red Thread] Factories in Leningrad**

After visits for the purpose of becoming acquainted, it was determined that Ariadna will exchange one of its packaging machines for a twisting machine from Czerwona Nic. Because the Soviet partner is interested in our

accounting principles, we may give him our accounting documentation (although this seems to be a little strange) in return for Soviet documentation on underslung transport.

#### **Swierczewski-Kalibr**

It is possible that in the case of these two factories a joint trade organization will be established in a form unknown, thus far, in relations between our countries. We are talking about sales of jointly produced tools through a foreign-trade company which will settle accounts on the basis of foreign-exchange calculations. But this will require the creation of the necessary legal framework (particularly on the Soviet side), because the Messner-Ryzhkov agreement alone is too narrow. If we were to follow the regulations now in effect, the formation of a joint organization would be impossible.

One of the Polish negotiators told me that work on the plan began with a request that all lawyers leave the room...

#### **Goods More Important Than Money**

From the talks which I held in the Polish enterprises which signed agreements on direct cooperation with Soviet partners, the following list of difficulties evolves: The first is the question of the settlement of accounts. The existing currency-exchange rates make a joint calculation impossible. Furthermore, these disparities are deepened by different price policies. In our country, changes in the exchange rates as a rule do not keep up with the inflationary movements of domestic prices, which periodically worsens the profitability of exchange and makes it difficult to formulate agreements with the Soviet contracting party.

Both countries have an "economy of scarcities," which means that goods are more important than money. That is why exchange is limited to deliveries of goods which are mutually balancing.

Because the position and rights of enterprises in both countries are different, talks become extended. On the Soviet side, direct cooperation still requires the participation of intermediaries. Different mechanisms of management make such economic terms as profit and costs incongruent, which makes it difficult for Polish enterprises to involve themselves in more complicated—economically and organizationally—joint ventures.

In Poland, the divergence of the interests of the enterprise and the State is very apparent. The principles of economic reform say that this divergence must be respected, and in any case, they make it difficult for the central government to apply orders-directive instruments. That is why "maturation" to cooperation proceeds differently in our country than it does in the Soviet Union. In our country, a policy of small offers and small steps dominates, while our Soviet partners have a greater

inclination towards spectacular endeavors, on a large scale, in selected fields. But generally, Soviet firms have greater developmental potential than ours.

Both sides show stronger interest in cooperation and exchange with the West than with each other. This can be seen on the level of the enterprises, which seek, in a partner, primarily that which they would have to buy in the West (raw materials, technologies). Direct cooperation is often only a substitute for foreign-exchange import.

In Soviet enterprises (in view of size, traditions and organizational forms) there is a distinct tendency towards self-sufficiency and distrust of outside suppliers, including foreign ones. This attitude hampers the development of specialization and coproduction which carries with it no government guarantees (i.e., directly between enterprises). In turn, for Polish firms, difficulties in obtaining supplies constitute a barrier for coproduction. Most often, they undertake production from materials entrusted to them.

In addition to the obstacles of a financial or systems nature, all kinds of technical obstacles exist between the economies of both countries: the blockage of border crossings, particularly vehicle, the lack of telex and telephone connections, the inability, in Poland, to reserve tickets on domestic lines in the USSR, different engineering standards and health regulations, etc.

According to assumptions, direct cooperation between enterprises would become, in the future, the main form of Polish-Soviet economic relations, because business should be conducted by enterprises and not by offices (and this includes the Office of the Council of Ministers). The 1986 agreement is the first serious test of the maturity of both economies to undertake such cooperation. Aside from the real financial benefits resulting from the international agreements, I think that the "battle reconnaissance" being conducted is very important. The successful, and less successful connections, and even the obvious misunderstandings, are very educational. What kind of conclusions will be drawn from these lessons is another problem entirely.

It may be assumed that we are now in the phase of joint adolescence. In any case, the infantile period in relations between our enterprises is probably coming to an end.

[Box]

In connection with the interest of Polish enterprises in establishing direct cooperation with Soviet enterprises and organizations, the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade (PIHZ) reports that the principles and directions of this cooperation have been defined in an agreement between the government of the Polish People's Republic and the government of the USSR, signed on 15 October 1986. The text of this agreement, as well as Decision No 28/87

of the Government Presidium, dated 12 June 1987, on its execution, are published as an insert to RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE [Foreign Markets], No 73-74 and 19, dated 22 June 1987.

Detailed information on the subject of direct cooperation by enterprises is available from the PIHZ Task Force on the Economics of Foreign Trade and Stimulation of Export, 4 Trebacka St., Warsaw, and PIHZ branches in 19 provinces.

A list of enterprises authorized to conduct direct cooperation and the offers of Soviet enterprises seeking partners are published in the USSR Industrial Trade Chamber bulletin "Priamyje Swiazi," which is available at PIHZ branches and Poland-USSR Economic Cooperation Clubs throughout the country.

9295

**One-Owner Limited Liability Company Proposed To Encourage Foreign Investment**  
*26000018 Warsaw POLITYKA-EKSPORT-IMPORT  
No 14, 16 Jul 88 p 18*

[Article by Gabriel Wujek, director, Legal Department, Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation]

[Text] In mid-June of this year, a draft bill on economic activity involving foreign organizations was submitted to the Sejm. The assumptions of the new regulation were developed during the course of a lively, at times very emotional, discussion. The controversies pertained primarily to the advisability of maintaining a dual legal system which arose as a result of the passage of two laws (the so-called Polonia law dated 6 July 1986, and the law dated 23 April 1986 on foreign-capital companies).

The government proposals bear the stamp of a compromise aimed at giving consideration to complex economic and legal reasons, which I mentioned in this space a few months ago. Taking these opinions and expressions—which favored the standardization of terms for different foreign investors—into account, the bill embodies the same principles of functioning for everyone. Economic activity with the participation of foreign organizations is to be conducted in the form of a limited-liability company or a joint stock company. This will permit a clear legal separation of a foreign person from the enterprise which that person operates in Poland. As a result, many practical and legal problems which stem from the lack of such a separation, can be avoided. This pertains particularly to the area of taxes, foreign exchange, and protection of Polish creditors.

To make the structure of the company flexible, and also in striving to retain the extremely attractive—from the viewpoint of the foreign investor—provision of the 1982 law which allows him to exercise exclusive control over

the enterprise, it is proposed that a one-owner limited liability company be legislated. In order that this be done, a draft amendment to the commercial code has been submitted.

The concept of a one-owner limited liability company may be surprising to some readers. It should be explained, therefore, that this is a legal construction which is very popular in the economic practice of many countries. It makes it possible to separate the assets which serve to satisfy the personal needs of a given person and his family, from the assets designated for the conduct of economy activity. Because of this, the risk of failure, always present in the world of business, is reduced to only the loss of the capital brought into the company. This is unquestionably conducive to the development of individual enterprise. Among the countries whose legal systems distinctly permit the creation, or allow the formation, of one-owner limited liability companies, are Austria, France, Holland, Japan, Canada, the FRG, and the United States. It should also be said that a similar legal construction is contained in the new Vietnam law on foreign investments, dated 29 December 1987.

Standardized terms for the conduct of economic activity by foreign investors are patterned on the export-stimulating provisions of the 1986 law. The more important changes, in addition to those mentioned above, include:

- removal of restrictions on Polish organizations that can enter companies;
- discontinuance of the requirement that the manager of a company or the president of a multimember board must be a Polish citizen with permanent residence in Poland;
- reduction of the income-tax rate from 50 percent to 40 percent;
- acceptance of the rule that tax relief by reason of export will be calculated only when the export exceeds 20 percent of the value of the sold production or services;
- extension of the initial period of income-tax exemption from 2 to 3 years, with the possibility of another extension for a period no longer than 3 years, if the enterprise functions in especially supported fields;
- exemption of the foreign partner from income tax on dividends, while at the same time taxing, in transferable currency, dividends transmitted abroad (this will be a 30 percent tax unless the international agreements concluded by Poland provide otherwise);
- acceptance of the rule that sales and income tax paid by the company constitutes income for the local budgets.

In developing new solutions, the guiding motive was to make Polish investment offers more attractive than those of other countries competing for foreign capital investments, and particularly the other European socialist countries, which constitute the closest point of reference.

In creating the regulation which is supposed to encourage foreign investors to export—which reflects our strivings but not those of the investors who are interested primarily in expanding their own sales markets, i.e., selling on the domestic market—strong organizational and financial incentives had to be offered. Therefore, the legislative proposals submitted to the Sejm contained just such incentives.

In the organizational sphere they are extremely attractive for the foreign investor because he has something which does not exist in other European socialist countries: the ability to retain full control over the enterprise. The State's interest is protected by regulations, according to which the issuance of a permit can be made dependent on the undertaking of activity jointly with a Polish organization and on the establishing of a specific proportion in the company's factory capital. Various clauses can be added to the permit which restrict the foreign organization's freedom of action.

Economic and financial terms are competitive. The income tax rate is comparable with other socialist countries, where it is in the 30-40 percent range. And after taking export allowances into account, and income-tax exemptions during the initial period of activity, the foreign investor receives better tax treatment than in the other European socialist countries.

The law being discussed, after it goes into effect, will constitute the only legal basis for the undertaking of new economic ventures by foreign investors. Therefore, the question arises: What happens to the approximately 700 foreign small-scale manufacture enterprises functioning on the basis of the 1982 law? Those who operate these enterprises will now be able to change the legal system by contributing the enterprise, or a part of it, as input to the factory capital of a company functioning under the new rules. Such a move will be made much easier during the construction of a one-owner limited liability company. The persons who take advantage of the ability to change the legal system are assured that they can continue activities on the basis of the present rules until their permit expires. The justification for this is the desire to protect the rights obtained by these persons, which guarantees them a sense of stability, as well as the awareness that not all enterprises will be able to take advantage of the new law. This applies especially to those enterprises which are oriented mainly towards the domestic market (e.g., the construction enterprises). The needs of this market also have to be protected.

The demand that the terms for the functioning of foreign capital be standardized is being met also in relation to those organizations which will continue to operate on the basis of the present law. The draft bill on economic activity with the participation of foreign organizations amends some provisions of the 1982 law, bringing the economic and financial terms of both laws closer together.

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**Energy Conservation Efforts Likely To Fall Short; Enterprise Use Reviewed**  
*26000009a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
1 Aug 88 p 3*

[Article by Jacek Swidzinski: "Fuel and Energy Resources: Gaps in the Balances"]

[Text] "The National Socioeconomic Plan assumes a reduction in the energy consumption to produce the national income of 9 to 11 percent, which is equivalent to the relative limitation of basic fuels in 1990 (in comparison with 1985) of 22 million tons of standard fuel," said Tadeusz Hupalowski, president of the Supreme Chamber of Control, in the Sejm. "It is possible to see that conservation will not exceed 4-5 million tons of standard fuel in 1990." The president of the Supreme Chamber of Control was expressing an optimistic view; for somewhat earlier, during a meeting of the Sejm Energy and Mining Commission, concern was expressed that the results of the conservation program would be only 3 million tons.

According to data from the Ministry of Industry, in Poland, the consumption of basic energy, calculated in the amount of standard fuel needed to produce \$1,000 of national income, was similar to that in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, or the GDR, but it was double that required in the highly developed countries. This is the source of the main philosophy of change in the structure of industry; it is necessary to reduce the percentage of heavy industry that uses the most energy and to modernize rapidly the entire economy to reduce the energy consumption needed to produce a unit of income.

#### The Polish Paradox

We have become accustomed to the belief that Poland is rich in energy resources, a result of the bounty of hard coal. But, although our industry needs more energy to produce the same amount of steel, cement, and other similar items than in the Western countries, as regards energy consumption per capita, we are among the lowest in Europe.

This can be illustrated with data (from the year 1984) on total consumption of fuel and energy per capita. Per capita in Canada, the rate was 15.4 tons of standard fuel; in the United States, the rate was 11.2 tons; in Sweden 8.8 tons; in the GDR, 8.1 tons; in Czechoslovakia, 6.7

tons; in the FRG, 6.2 tons; in the Soviet Union, 5.9 tons; and in Poland, 4.6 tons. Behind Poland in this classification is Japan, 4.4 tons of standard fuel per capita, but the Japanese do not have any energy resources other than a small quantity of hard coal, and they have mastered rationalization and high efficiency in its use.

In the industrialized countries, the rate of growth for energy consumption is generally lower than the rate of growth of the national income. The lower the rate, the more modern the economy is, and the more efficient its structure. The increase in the consumption of fuels and energy needed to increase the national income by 1 percent is 0.5 percent in these countries; in Poland (for 1960-80) it was 0.72 percent.

Poland has an unfavorable structure of energy resources: about 70 percent of the total consumption of fuels and energy occurs as hard coal used as a direct fuel or processed into electric power. While in Great Britain, which has similar deposits of hard coal, the structure of consumption is as follows: 32 percent, solid fuels (including peat and lignite), 37 percent oil, 23 percent natural gas, 8 percent electric power, and 1 percent so-called bunker. One can be jealous of the British oil deposits in the North Sea, but, for example, natural gas constitutes too small a portion of the Polish balance in relation to our resources and ability to import.

We will not be able to change this structure quickly because the average investment cycle in this area is as much as 13 years (cynics will find examples of longer cycles and point, for example, to Zarnowiec). Nevertheless, we must realize that it is necessary to reduce the proportion of coal in our fuel and energy balance and rationalize its mining and consumption. In Belgium, experimental mines are already in operation in which coal is gasified directly in the deposits (which is unbelievably important for environmental protection!). In Great Britain, as much as 80 percent of the coal is burned in power plants that ensure the highest level of efficiency.

#### Who Should Conserve?

The simplest answer to this question is everybody, but not everyone has equal abilities in this respect. In 1986, industry, construction, and agriculture consumed 50 percent of the fuels and energy; transportation, 10 percent; so-called municipal services, or chiefly for our homes and apartments, 40 percent. Experts point out that consumption is growing fastest in the municipal sphere and in agriculture.

The problem is that conserving by "turning off the light in the bathroom," although needed, will not produce large effects. The ball must be put in industry's court. Industry should produce energy-efficient washers, refrigerators, television sets, and light sources. Industry supplies agriculture with machinery that consumes increasing quantities of energy, burdening not only the farmer's

pocket but also the national balance. With each passing year, the mechanization of agriculture increases; thus, quick action is necessary to modernize the design of this machinery and equipment.

In the documents given to journalists during one of the press conferences at the Ministry of Industry, the striking formulation "it is impossible to develop industry, while maintaining its current structure" appeared. The situation has become dramatic, and restructuring, not a cosmetic one that aims to improve the external visage of Poland, is essential.

#### Opportunity Through Restructuring

The following data illustrate the above thesis: in 2000, our industry, given the current structure, will need about 130 GWh of energy; in 1985 it used nearly 75 GWh. The most optimistic predictions estimate that the supply of energy during this period can be increased less than 30 GWh. As regards all energy sources, then the current consumption level of 1.8 million TJ would have to increase to 3 million TJ. Analysis indicates that this increase can vary 5 to 16 percent. Thus, it is not only necessary to change the structure of industry, but it is also necessary in those industries that are retained out of necessity to modernize them and to orient them to new products with greater inputs of the most modern scientific and technical thought and to make organizational changes in them.

This has already been tried, as the "fuel and energy conservation program through 1990," which president T. Hupalowski mentioned, shows. In 1984, the "Program Plans for Meeting the Fuel and Energy Needs of the National Economy through 2000" was adopted. The need for fuel and energy, which, in 1985, was 176 million tons of standard fuel, is to increase to 220-250 million tons. The estimate contains assumptions that in 1985-2000 we will succeed in reducing energy consumption for the production of the national income produced by 19.1 to 22.3 percent.

And this, unfortunately, is wrong; research and audits by the Supreme Chamber of Control show that the enterprises have generally neglected the plans of the national conservation program. Of the 80 plants studied, more than 40 did not have their own fuel and energy conservation programs, and in those plants that had them, the plans had remained on paper. There is a special fund from which resources needed for investment and other action aiming to make more efficient use of fuels and energy can be drawn, but the enterprises unwillingly take advantage of it. Reportedly, conservation investments do not pay for themselves because they are too costly and complicated and whatever can eventually be earned

from implementing them can be achieved more easily, for example, by increasing exports. The cost accounting of the enterprises indicates that excessive energy consumption is even more profitable than outlays of resources for conserving it. This logic derives from the fact that the cost of excessive fuel consumption can easily be included in the sales price.

Although somewhat different, the basic trends are similar in the use of electric power. Generally, however, one can say that throughout the entire system even after 2000 one should count on a shortage of capacity during peak hours if there is no radical change in the equipment drawing electric power to a more modern generation of equipment. This balance of energy also counted on a noticeable proportion of nuclear energy (it was to provide 9 to 15 percent of the capacity).

Taking into account the facts that the production of 1 ton of coal in Poland requires the equivalent of 400 kg of this fuel and that we have a similarly unfavorable index in energy-intensive industries, like ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, cement production, papers, shipbuilding, some machine tools (for example, railroad cars), the further development of these industries must arouse doubts. The opportunity for Polish industry, including those producing nonfood market goods, lies in electronics, substitution of other materials, especially artificial ones wherever possible, for steel, and rationalizing the consumption of energy (for example, by using waste heat).

#### Instruments of Improvement

"Energy and fuels are too cheap in Poland," says one of the experts on energy, and conversion into world prices in zloty bears him out. But further increases in the prices for energy resources deepens inflation, for experience shows that these increases are transferred to the prices of final products.

We must give the Polish Committee on Standards, Measurements, and Quality greater authority to prevent the production of products whose production requires too much energy and which themselves then consume too much energy. The first steps have already been taken. Beginning 1 January 1989, production, for example, of the oldest types of Star trucks and Ursus tractors will not be allowed, but this is not enough. In such countries as France, the FRG, or Sweden, the "energy police" forced the enterprises to value energy in the course of a few years. Prohibitions and orders are not effective methods of operation in all areas, but, as experience shows, in energy and fuel conservation, economic factors alone will not suffice.

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